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distrust in the people which no bad Government can be free from has made them spend very extravagantly on those departments which are intended for the maintenance of peace and order.

12-15 p. m. “The public expenditure which was less than half a crore in the year 1905 in regard to Police has increased to about 2 crores in this year’s budget. The promotion of education, protection of public health and the development of the natural resources of the country which every good Government undertakes for the welfare of its citizens are woefully neglected. Even the small sums provided for these nation-developing activities are not well spent. Most of the amounts allotted for these purposes have been largely spent on staff, leaving very little to be spent on services actually useful to the people. Then, we see that even in instances where the budget cannot be framed so as to balance itself, Indianization of the services is not resorted to. Indianization of the services is one of the effective means by which without sacrificing efficiency expenditure can be curtailed to a very very very great extent. And for this deficit budget it is not the unforeseen calamities that are responsible. There are calamities brought on by people who are responsible for the good administration of the province, the calamity of saddling a poor province with extra expenditure by accepting the Lee Commission’s proposals, even in spite of strong protests made by this whole House and in regard to which even the Government Benches were not against. When it is a case of finding funds for the superior services we find that some arrangement is made. If it is a question of increasing the salaries of low-paid servants who are miserably ill-paid in this country, there is always the lip sympathy and the Government say ‘Funds are not available’. They have not yet realized that these high salaries are purchased at the cost of miserably low salaries in the lower ranks of the service. If they really wanted to effect some improvement in the salaries of these low-paid servants, they can very easily find funds by a graduated reduction in the salaries of the posts carrying abnormally high salaries.

“In this budget we do not find any amount worth the name devoted to village reconstruction. The sanitation in the villages is in the same state as it was some centuries back. Leaving alone the question of sanitation, even the water-supply of these villages is not attended to. If we have a cursory view of the budget we would find some means provided for all these things, sanitation, education, medical relief and other things. But when we go into details, we will see that all these amounts are spent mostly in urban areas and, even in the case of urban areas, mostly round about Madras (hear, hear), and as I told you in the beginning even the amounts provided for the nation-developing departments are not wisely spent. The hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government might say that he has now brought into existence district sanitary agencies by appointing sanitary inspectors in every taluk in place of the few that were working in each district before. But what are these sanitary inspectors doing now? There are no funds. The local boards are not in a position to supply any funds for any of these services. There is the staff appointed without funds, and the work which was hitherto done by a few, that is vaccination work, is now being done unnecessarily by these lots of health inspectors. I do not mean to say that there is no necessity for the great number of health inspectors. Really it is a pressing need in the rural areas that sanitation and public health should be attended to vigorously. But what is the use of having a



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staff without money to carry out any proposal whatever? If you take into consideration the water-supply of the villages, it is very very deplorable. There is many a village which has no water-supply, leave alone protected water-supply. During summer seasons, the villagers have to go miles away from their villages to get water from a dirty pond or from some ditch in some of the agricultural farms. Hitherto Government used to give contributions to the local bodies for the improvement of village water-supply. But now they have given a staff and they say that no money is available for their work.

"Now, coming to the question of medical relief, of course recently a new scheme of supplying aided allopathic dispensaries for the rural areas has been inaugurated. Perhaps it is not so well known that the allopathic dispensaries are not so very popular in rural areas. Even the few allopathic dispensaries that are existing are resorted to for accidents and for some operations and similar purposes. But if it is a question of curing of diseases, especially diseases of some standing, the people would certainly resort to indigenous systems of medicine. It is the educated few that resort to these allopathic medical institutions for all purposes. But the villager has still some faith, great faith, in the indigenous systems, and even though they may not be of a very good sort, it is these indigenous doctors in the villages that are attending to the medical needs of the villagers and not the allopathic institutions or doctors. Even these subsidised allopathic dispensaries are costing about a thousand rupees each. With a thousand rupees an Ayurvedic or Unani or Siddha dispensary can be well established, and as a matter of fact, in my area there are four Ayurvedic dispensaries of which two are maintained on not more than a thousand rupees each. Of course, these dispensaries will be costly if we are to go in for medicines from some stores just like the allopathic dispensaries. The cost of the medicines of even these allopathic dispensaries is putting a great strain and burden upon the local bodies. If the Ayurvedic medicines are to be prepared, I maintain that an Ayurvedic dispensary can very well be carried on just to suit the needs of these local people with a thousand or at the most twelve hundred rupees a year.

"Then, with regard to Education, I must congratulate the hon. the Minister for Education (hear, hear) who is more successful in getting something for his new schemes than the other Ministers. Of course he has got much for primary education in the budget, but the pity is that I have to say even here that the money is not well spent. Recently he has spent a lakh and odd for the opening of primary schools in villages with a population of a thousand and above. In every one of these villages, except in places—in nooks and corners—far away from our present civilisation, there is either an aided school or some private school. By converting these schools into so-called public schools, no tangible good is done to the people. There are aided schools which are catering to the needs of the villages."

The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PARRO:—"May I just explain the position, Sir? It is not intended to open these schools in areas where there is provision for a school already. It is not only intended to open schools where there is no school whatever . . ."

Mr. P. C. VENKATAPATI RAJU:—"It may be that there was such an idea in the mind of the hon. the Minister for Education at the time of the inauguration of this new scheme, and it might have been expressed too, but the



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fact is that the aided school teacher on account of his being starved by the meagre grants-in-aid would certainly see that he abolishes his school and becomes a public school teacher by the time this scheme comes into operation. As a matter of fact, when it was known that villages with a population of one thousand and above would certainly get a school, if there was no other school, these aided school teachers contrived to close their schools and sent in representations to the inspectors saying that they closed their schools, with the object of getting themselves employed as teachers of public schools on higher salary. I am now coming to my point. I say that the money is not well spent not because that any money spent on education is a waste. I say it is not well spent because instead of enhancing these grants for these aided schools and instead of making them strong, you starve these aided schools and bring into existence schools known as public schools."

The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—"Again, may I make a correction, Sir? The aided schools are not starved in the budget for 1925-26. All the demands from every district educational council have been fully provided for."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—"I do not know if the demands are fully provided for."

Mr. P. C. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—"I am connected with a district educational council as its president, and I can contradict the hon. the Minister for Education."

The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—"I refer to the budget provision for 1925-26, not the provision for the current year."

Mr. P. C. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—"Even for the last two or three years I know. . ."

The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—"May I again say, Sir, that I refer to the budget for 1925-26, that is the budget which we are discussing now."

Mr. P. C. VENKATAPATI RAJU :—"I am saying that the policy of opening these new schools has not improved the conditions prevailing before this year. The educational councils, at least I can speak of the educational council of my district, have come forward with proposals that unless the grants are increased there is no use in asking the councils to advance and expand elementary education. That was our experience

12-30 p.m. during the last years, and the hon. the Minister for Education now says that they will fare better hereafter. Well, I thank him for the assurance but at the same time I must assure him that instead of bringing into existence these public schools even in villages with a population of 500 or 1,000, if you are going to continuously increase the grants, you will certainly be doing something more for primary education (Mr. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar: 'hear, hear'), even though it will not manifest itself on its face. I know we have the scheme of opening thousands of schools. But we must see that they are catering to the needs of the people and that they are properly discharging the duties for which they are brought into existence. Even when these elementary schools are opened, there must be vocational courses or some change in the curricula. When



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any elementary schools already in existence want any help from the Government for building grants, it is not forthcoming. Of course, I cannot say that the hon. the Minister is responsible for these things. I do not know whether their requests are forwarded to the Minister or are made to lie with the inspector of schools.

"Now with regard to Local Self-Government, I may say without any fear of contradiction that the local boards are faring far worse than they did in the years before the advent of these reforms. In those years there used to be some principle upon which the grants were distributed among the various local boards. Now I find that no principle is being followed. I think there must be some principles upon which the grants ought to be regulated instead of leaving them to the caprices of the department.

"Now, the hon. the Finance Member has warned us that we should not raise great hopes on the reduction of our contribution to the Central Government simply because it was foreshadowed, and he said that there were powerful interests at work to raid the surplus or divert it to other uses. So also I have a strong mind to warn this House that there are powerful interests at work to raid our surpluses and divert them to other uses. When it was expected that some abatement of this contribution to the Central Government would occur, it was agreed on all hands and also by both the Reserved and Transferred halves of the Government that most of this money should be given for nation-developing activities. But I find that there are other interests now at work, and the budget is such, and it is even foreshadowed by the hon. the Finance Member, that this money will be spent for wiping off the debt with the hope that it will bring better prosperity in future years. I want to warn this House not to tolerate such a state of things. Even if such a windfall, as the hon. the Finance Member calls it, is not diverted to nation-building activities, I do not know when these activities will be better fostered."

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—"Mr. President, Sir, the hon. the Finance Member has really realized the position as regards the nature of the budget he has introduced in this Council. But, at the same time, I am very sorry that the Government which has put forward the budget through him has not realized the position as he seems to have done in the speech which he made the day before yesterday and in which he tried to satisfy the people with regard to what is going on in this Presidency. Sir, when the Reforms were introduced into this country, it was thought we were going to have the millennium, we were going to have progress everywhere and all those wasteful expenditure, or expenditure about which people held views different from those of the Government, were going to be reduced, and expenditure on matters relating to what the hon. the Finance Member himself called nation-building projects were going to be increased. But we have found to our very great dissatisfaction, Sir, that all those expectations have been belied by facts during the last four years, and we stand at the present moment, if anything, in a worse position than we were in before. Well, Sir, after the Reforms were put into force it was said that this provincial contribution to the Government of India was the one thing troubling Madras and that but for it everything would be all right. Year after year, Sir, we were treated to stories of how carefully we were working our finances and how things were not going to improve unless the Government of India were going to relax their



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purse-strings ever so little. Now, what do we find? We find, Sir, expenditure is being incurred in anticipation; year after year we find that expenditure is incurred out of capital; our unproductive debts are being increased year by year with the result that ultimately we will only find that any concessions that the Government of India may give us is already mortgaged, and there is little left for all that we expected to do for our good in this Presidency. We find, for instance, in the revised estimate that there is a deficit of Rs. 40 lakhs which is to come out of borrowings from the Government of India and again in the budget estimate about Rs. 88 lakhs will be spent from unproductive debts; so the two together will amount to Rs. 128 lakhs, that is, two lakhs more than what we expect as concession from the Government of India this year. That is the position to which we have been brought, Sir, to-day. The hon. the Finance Member spoke of retrenchment in the Government whereby the standing commitments were reduced by Rs. 65 lakhs in the year before last. Well, the figures given for the last three years in the budget estimates, copies of which were supplied to us, show that the expenditure has increased by about Rs. 100 lakhs within two years. If you take all the four years together, the expenditure has increased by something like Rs. 150 lakhs or so, whereas the revenue does not seem to have been equally elastic as the expenditure. Well, Sir, where do we find ourselves again? There is the Lee Commission's report for which a provision of Rs. 9 lakhs was made in the current year in the revised estimate which is considered to be short by Rs. 14 lakhs and we do not know what our further expenditure with reference to this will be when the Bill that is impending there in England is introduced in the House of Commons and passed and given effect to. Not only that; we find that instead of stopping with that, the Government is trying to introduce into the several departments more and more men in the Imperial Services. I had a list made yesterday and I am sorry it is now missing (laughter), but I may just state at least a few cases which I remember just now. For instance, Sir, in the Forest service two more forest officers in the Imperial Service are going to be introduced. We have, for instance, Sir, two Under Secretaries in the Secretariat here who were formerly in the Provincial Service and who are going to be replaced by men from the Imperial Service."

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—" May I ask the hon. Member to state the departments to which he refers? "

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—" Both in the Revenue and in the Law Departments, if I remember right, the Under Secretaries are going to be replaced by Under Secretaries in the Imperial Service."

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—" Sir, in the past, Under Secretaries have been generally men from the Imperial Service."

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—" I am speaking about last year and this year. I am speaking with reference to the budget estimate supplied to me by the hon. the Finance Member."

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—" I may further say that the appointment from the one or other service does not make any difference."

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—" I do not think so. If, for instance, a place in the Secretariat is not scheduled for a member of the Indian Civil Service, to that extent the number of Indian Civil Service officers will be reduced."



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The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—"I may point out that no posts in the Secretariat are listed."

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—"So much the better. If these people are employed as Under Secretaries, to that extent there may be more officers in the Indian Civil Service doing other work. Well, Sir, we find also a number of special officers who are annually created. For instance, a Deputy Director in the Provincial Educational Service is to be in the Indian Educational Service. What is the result of that? We have been increasing the number in the Imperial Services. I know there are two arguments to be advanced with reference to that on the other side. One is that in the Imperial Services we have now got more Indians. So far as charges are concerned, it does not matter very much, except with reference to overseas pay and one or two other things, whether the officer is an Indian or a European. We have been saying that the scale of pay that has been given to these officers has been very high, so high that India, a poor country, cannot afford it. The fact that a few Indians are put into these services is no reason to justify that the pay has become what it should be. No doubt there is a political objection to the employment of Europeans in these services. That is another matter. But so far as the economic argument is concerned, it does not matter whether the officer that is appointed is a European or an Indian. In any case, Sir, the very high pay that is given to the Imperial Service officers is out of all proportion to what is necessary to be given in a country like India. To that extent I take exception to these appointments, whether the officers are Europeans or Indians. We also find another thing. A number of appointments which have no connexion with Imperial services are now shown as non-votable items in the budget. I do not know why they are so done. For instance, the pay of the Sanitary Engineer to Government, the Sanitary Commissioner and people like that who are holding special appointments—I suppose they are called scientific appointments—which do not belong to the Imperial Services, these are now shown in the budget as non-votable items. For what reason I do not know at all. It seems to me, Sir, that is a matter of serious interference with the rights of this House to mark almost every big appointment under the Government as non-votable. . . ."

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—"May I explain that it does not make any difference in the total amount? It so happens that these appointments are held by officers whose pay is not votable. But it does not affect the amount to be voted by the Council or the extent of control vested in the Council."

Rao Bahadur T. A. RAMALINGA CHETTIYAR :—"I fear the hon. the Finance Member is not correct there. He is not correct for this reason. If the item has been put as non-votable, then we cannot reduce the amount by any motion made in this House. I do say for that reason that the hon. the Finance Member is wrong there. Then he said that it was because they are Imperial officers they are shown as non-votable. Then again there is a fallacy. If the appointment is not ordinarily held by a person in the Imperial Service, certainly the pay of the post ought to be votable in this House. But by a jugglery, instead of appointing a man from outside, the Government appoint a man who is already in the service. I contend that his pay ought to be still votable and for the time being he should be considered as not in Government Imperial service. He

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ought to be treated differently as otherwise the powers of this House with regard to the pay of the office will be taken away and seriously interfered with thereby. For instance, Government to-morrow create, say 200, new appointments and put all the officers of the Imperial Service, non-votable service, in those places instead of new men. Are we to be told that these appointments have been filled in by the Imperial service men and we cannot touch their pay? That is a policy which ought to be faced, and I do think the Government seeing that such a step is a serious inroad on the powers of this House and largely affects the privileges of this House should show these items as votable.

"Then, Sir, the present unsatisfactory result in our financial position has been attained not only with reference to the state of things which had existed before the Reforms came into existence but after a lot of new taxes have been imposed upon the people. The first of the new taxes that have been imposed on the people, I beg to submit, is the increase in the Excise duty. Well, Sir, the Government calls it as their policy of maximum of revenue with the minimum of consumption. Whatever name they call it by, there is no doubt that it is an additional taxation. And then, from what class of people is this tax being collected? It is most unfortunate that most people that pay these additional taxes are the poor people. By far the major portion of this amount is raised by tax on the toddy and arrack supplied to people who resort to these toddy and arrack shops to drink this poisonous liquor. Certainly these are poisonous; and if these are not poisonous, I do not know what else they are. Those who take these poisonous liquors are all very poor people. This is therefore a tax on poor people. Now, it is an open fact and probably there will be a few people—but I do know there are several here—who will think that these poor people resort to toddy shops of their own free will. It is a temptation that exists in their way. It is due to their existence that a number of people belonging to the poor class go there and drink in these toddy shops. These poor people who resort to these places are helpless and the only way in which they can be helped is by removing the temptation away from them. That is the conclusion which the Special Committee in Bombay has arrived at, and I hope that the same will be the conclusion that will be arrived at here also. That being the case, what is the result of these additional taxes? The result is that you are forcibly taking from these helpless poor people a very large amount of money for the use of the State. I beg to submit, Sir, that this is a most objectionable procedure altogether. It ought to be put an end to as early as possible. I am for prohibition altogether. I know the hon. the Finance Member is trotting out the usual objection that by prohibition you are not stopping drink. That has been the usual way of meeting the problem. He seems to think that by a law of prohibition we are only going to increase the drink. We have got the example of at least one democratic country in the world, viz., the United States of America. Its position as a democratic country cannot be questioned, and it has adopted the policy of prohibition. There are several persons who have gone to America, and they say the policy of prohibition is not working well. I know that also. But how far we can trust their statement will be seen by the official reports received on the matter. The reports say that the law is being worked splendidly, that it has been able to stop drinking and that everything is getting on very well. Sir, in a democratic country like the United States if there was a serious complaint against that law, the matter could have been taken



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to the notice of the Government and proper redress sought. I say, Sir, that except persons interested in the liquor trade, who are very few, all are agitating for prohibition. Liquor trade is a very bad trade and it has a large amount of money behind it. Well, Sir, as I say, this tax on excise is a most unreasonable and a most objectionable tax that has been levied on the poor, and it must be removed as early as possible. What we want is restriction on the consumption, restriction with regard to the localities, restriction as to the number of shops and things like that. If these restrictions existed, there will be real improvement in the present situation. If the tax is higher, it only means that we are taking away the major portion of the money from the poor people.

"Then, Sir, we have taxes increased by the local bodies and municipalities. The new Acts which were framed allowed some power and some sort of discretion to the local bodies with the result that the taxes have all been increased everywhere. All round, we have an increased taxation. But I am sorry to say that to that extent we do not find any benefits. That is the position we stand in. So, Sir, if we are going to have any real benefit from the Government of India by any reduction in our contribution, I do submit for the serious consideration of the Government the question of tackling this policy of prohibition at the earliest moment. There is one other danger also. The loss of revenue by adopting a policy of prohibition will be much. It will be about 4 or 5 lakhs. The only big source for meeting this is the reduction in the contribution. If we lose this opportunity when the reduction is going to be made and if we let the occasion go by without making any provision for the reduction of drink, we will probably find later on that we are not able on financial grounds to deal with the question at all. So I do submit that this is the only opportunity when anything like a serious consideration can be given to this excise question and a proper solution evolved. If this opportunity is let to pass, I do not know if there will be any early opportunity at all for us to tackle this problem. For that reason, I would very earnestly impress upon the attention of the Government the necessity for tackling this question at once. The hon. the Minister for Excise has been sitting over this question for a very long time, for over two years, and we have not heard anything about the new policy that has been evolved out of his labours. If he is really serious to come to an early decision on this question and see the new policy put into force, it must be by utilising a major portion of the contribution that may be realized from the Government of India for the purpose of meeting the deficit by cutting down the revenue of the province from excise taxes.

"There are many matters about which I should like to speak; but then, the time is up. I will only say that for all beneficent purposes, for drinking water supply in villages, elementary education, medical relief and things like that there has not been very much progress in Madras. During the last three years, education has got only 10 lakhs (primary education) in addition to what was got before the Reforms. But may I draw attention of the House to what they were doing in Bombay quite recently? The hon. the Minister for Education must show some solid improvement if he desires to be compared, at least to some extent, with the Minister in Bombay, who also belongs to the non-Brahman party. It seems to me if there is to be any return from the contribution, the first relief ought to go to meet the reduction in the Excise revenue and then the reduction of additional



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taxes. These will have to be considered more seriously before we increase the emoluments of the services as recommended by the Lee Commission. As I said during the discussion on the Lee Commission Report, I do not grudge to those who are already in service any payment that might be recommended by the Lee Commission or the Secretary of State. What I object to is the increase of the number on higher pay in the services and thereby forcing on us higher expenditure. We can certainly get good men to do these services here on very much less pay. This is a consideration the House should look into. It is only by reducing the expenditure in that way that we can satisfy the people and also the interests of nation-building departments the advancement of which the hon. the Finance Member says he has so much at heart. I would once again request the Government to consider all these matters and tackle the problems at once."

Mr. C. MUTTAYYA MUDALIYAR:—"Mr. President, Sir, we cannot very well blame the hon. the Finance Member for having presented to this Council a deficit budget for 1925-26. Even the current year closes with a deficit of over 32 lakhs against all expectations which was due to circumstances over which the Finance Member had no control. Fortunately for all of us, the deficit budget has been turned into a surplus budget suddenly, as if it were by a magician's wand, by the remission of 126 lakhs graciously made by the Government of India in the usual provincial contribution of 348 lakhs to Central Revenues. We hope that in these altered circumstances, more allotments would be made by Government for grants to local bodies for health purposes. The crying need of the villagers is the provision of a good water-supply and of tolerably good village roads, connecting them with the adjoining taluk or district trunk roads as the case may be. In the pre-reform days, grants were given to district boards from provincial funds for the construction of village roads. The Chingleput district was treated as one of the poorer districts, deserving special treatment in the matter of village roads. The Government no doubt now make large grants to district boards for the maintenance of trunk roads and for second class roads. We wish some grant is made in aid of the village roads also, so that better facilities may be given to the villagers who cry out at the top of their voice, and urge on us, their representatives here, the necessity of providing village roads, connecting their villages with the nearest trunk road or other roads now maintained from public funds.

"In addition to the road communications, better attention will have to be paid to the improvement of water ways. It is not without purpose that the administrators of this Presidency in the past have constructed the lengthy canal known as the Buckingham Canal. The improvement of the Canal for purposes of navigation is a very desirable thing, and there have been complaints from the users of this means of communication about its shallowness, and to an interpellation put by me last year in this Council, the hon. the Law Member said that the petition of the people had been forwarded to the Superintending Engineer for action. It is not clear whether sufficient allotments have been made in the budget for making the canal really useful to the public. I find the provision in the next year's budget for maintenance and repairs is less than that made in the current year's revised estimate. That is the attention paid by the Government to the humble representation made by the people and their representatives. I request that the Government will inquire into the complaint and make better provision



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in the course of the year for proper maintenance of the Buckingham Canal. As for the position of the canal situate within the limits of the Madras City, apart from the difficulty in the matter of navigation due to the heavy silting, I would urge on the attention of the Government the desirability of keeping this length of the canal in a sanitary condition, for it affects not only the health of the permanent citizens of the Madras City, but also that of the floating population, as the stench arising either from the city drainage discharged into the canal or from the accumulated filthy silt at the bottom, during the hot months of the year, when the Government is away at Ootacamund, is unbearable. The Madras City representatives here would bear ample testimony to this. Any of the Government Members may also know this to be true if they remain for a minute or two on the Elephant Gate Bridge near the railway level crossing. This can be remedied by the Government Sanitary Engineers, if not by the Corporation Engineer. It is all a question of funds. That must be found if the Government care for the health of the citizens. The Government will do well to consider the question of the extension of the canal to the south of Madras making it run as far as Pondicherry at least, instead of stopping it, as at present, at the Chingleput district southern frontier. There was a resolution moved in the pre-reform days by a non-official member demanding a provision of a lakh of rupees in the budget for further extension of the canal to the Tanjore district. The Government should examine the question of providing better facilities for communication for the people on the sea coast, who mostly depend on this canal for cheap transport of the local produce to the Madras and other markets. The cost of transport by this canal is very much cheaper than the railway freight.

"The attention of the officers of the Public Works Department should specifically be drawn to the matter of maintaining the present canal in a suitable condition for *uninterrupted* navigation during all months of the year without complaint from the merchants and other users of the canal as at present. If need be, increased allotment should be made for clearance of silt, for widening and deepening the canal, where necessary, and for the provision of wharfs of suitable landing arrangements in different places along the course of the canal. Many cargo laden boats are stuck up between Papanhavadi and Madras for want of sufficient depth of water during the non-flood season. I hope the Government, rather the Member in charge of Irrigation portfolio, would pay some attention, if not sufficient attention, to this.

"As regards village water-supply, in the days when allotments were made from the minor sanitation grant, there were greater opportunities for sinking wells in the villages wherever necessary. It is absolutely necessary that sufficient provision should be made in the budget for grants to district boards for the purpose of sinking wells in villages. In several villages, the drinking-water ponds dry up in the hot months of the year when water for drinking is most needed by the people and the cattle. We have instances where men and animals go to neighbouring villages during these hot months to quench their thirst. Their condition is very pitiable indeed (Mr. Veerian : hear, hear). We will not be doing our duty properly till we get for the villagers in each village at least one drinking-water well, where water cannot be had at present during the hot months of the year when shallow ponds of water completely dry up. All classes of people—in



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villages as well as in cheris—stand in need of assistance in the matter of provision of drinking-water wells to tide over water scarcity in the hot months of the year. I hope this particular grievance of the people will receive the early attention of the Government and necessary provisions be made in the budget.”

\* Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—“ Sir, probably the most striking feature in the present budget is that it is a deficit one. It is also an honest one. In any case, there is no attempt in the budget to conceal facts from us. As I was saying, what struck me most in this present budget is the fact that it is a deficit one. The current year closes with a deficit of 32 lakhs—I am speaking in round figures—and the year 1925–26 is expected to close with a deficit of about 88 lakhs. One marked feature of our budget in recent years has been that more or less we are always having deficit budgets except in one year, in the year 1923–24, when we had a surplus budget. That year ended with a surplus of about 28 lakhs. In 1922 or so, when we were threatened with a huge deficit of about a crore of rupees, this Council assisted the Government to pass two Bills, the Stamp Bill and the Court Fees Bill, the object of which was to enhance the stamp duties and the court fee rates. It was hoped at the time that after the temporary difficulty of the Government then was over these Acts would be repealed. But we now find that there is no intention on the part of the Government to repeal either of these Acts to any extent. In fact, at the time of the budget discussion last year, the Council as a protest against the Government's attitude with reference to these two measures, passed a token resolution and deducted a sum of one thousand rupees from the amount under Stamps. The carrying out of that resolution has had no effect on the Government. Even to-day, I understood from my hon. Friend the Law Member in answer to an interpellation this morning that there was no intention on the part of the Government to repeal these Acts to any extent. It is rather unfortunate. The Finance Member in the speech introducing the budget says that the only way of meeting this deficit is either by additional taxation or by retrenchment. With reference to the additional taxation, and also with reference to retrenchment, he stated that both these would be unpopular. I may say, Sir, with reference to additional taxation, that that will not only be unpopular but cannot even be thought of. In fact, the country is not in a position to pay any more taxes. As the Finance Member himself admitted in another connexion, this province is the most heavily taxed of all the provinces, and any addition to the financial burden will certainly put the people to considerable difficulties, and it would really be an act of killing the goose that lays golden eggs. So that I hope there is no intention whatever, there is no covert intention on the part of the Government, to introduce any taxation measure at present or in the near future. The only reasonable way in which this deficit can be met is by retrenchment in the proper direction. But instead of retrenchment, what do the Government do? They go on, adding to the expenditure. I may just refer to one item, that is, the item that is introduced into the budget in consequence of the passing of orders by the Secretary of State on the Lee Commission's Report. This Council passed practically an unanimous resolution to the effect that no effect should be given to the proposals contained in the Report, and the Imperial Assembly at Delhi also passed a resolution to the same effect. But the authorities higher up, the Secretary of State and apparently the Government of India



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also, treated this resolution as if it were a resolution passed in a debating society of school boys (hear, hear). Let us hope that a better spirit will prevail in the Government.

"By proper retrenchment, I mean not the reduction of a number of constables by about 1,600 or 2,000, nor the reduction of a few excise peons, nor the reduction of a number of peons in the Judicial or Revenue department. That is not the sort of retrenchment that would give us any chance of salvation. The retrenchment must be in higher quarters. For instance, there is a large number of officers who are, so to speak, serving as conduit pipes or post offices between the Government and subordinate officers. There are a number of officers, such as Deputy Inspectors-General of Police, Deputy Commissioners in the Salt and Abkari Department, Superintending Engineers. . ."

The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—"The Deputy Commissioners of Excise are abolished."

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—"I suppose the Deputy Inspectors-General of Police and Superintending Engineers have not yet been abolished. I was referring only to certain classes of officers who may very usefully be dispensed with, without affecting efficiency in the working of the various Government departments. As I said, the financial salvation of this Council can be attained only by retrenchment in the proper direction and also by gradual reduction and ultimate abolition of Provincial contributions.

"Now, with reference to the Provincial contributions, Sir, since the Reforms Act was passed and since the amount of 348 lakhs was fixed as the quota of this Government to be paid to the Imperial Government, we began to protest against it; we protested in the press, in the public platform and in this Council, and during the lifetime of the last Council we, inclusive of the Government Members, unanimously passed a resolution praying that this contribution of 3½ crores might be abolished. We have been practically crying in the wilderness; our cry has not been heard. After we passed that resolution and partly as a part of that resolution, this Council appointed a deputation to wait upon His Excellency the Viceroy. The deputation wrote to His Excellency the Viceroy for permission. The permission was given and the deputation went to Delhi and waited on His Excellency. Of course, the Viceroy very courteously, very kindly received the deputation, very patiently listened to the individual representations of all the members of the deputation and made a long reply lasting for about half an hour. Ultimately, the members of the deputation found that they were no wiser at the end than they were at the beginning. We hoped that at a subsequent meeting of the Finance Members of the various Governments which was held to tackle this problem, they would do some benefit by way of reduction, if not abolition of the contributions of this Government as well as of other Governments. The long expected meeting of Financial Members did come ultimately, and after the meeting was over, we were left as we were before.

"Then, last year in the Assembly the hon. the Finance Member stated that if the Assembly agreed to raise the salt duty, a reduction would be made in the contribution from the Provinces. The Assembly refused to enhance the salt duty and no relief was granted by way of a reduction in the Provincial contributions. Now, Sir, there is some

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hope—I believe it is only a hope yet, because we should not count the chickens before the eggs are hatched—seeing that the Finance Member has stated, and the Government of India have stated, that it is proposed to give a reduction of 126 lakhs this year to this Province. From the subsequent answers which the Finance Member gave the Assembly yesterday it is found that it is his intention to wipe off this contribution completely by gradual reduction of it year after year. While on the one hand we have this hope, we find on the other hand that the Bombay people have begun to protest very loudly for not getting any reduction in their contribution and we read in the newspapers that an adjournment of their Council was moved in respect of this matter. Apparently they want reduction or abolition of the Cotton Excise duty and also this. For my part I shall only be glad if they get their share of reduction. But so far as we are concerned. . . .”

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM:—“Sir, with your permission, I would correctly state the position. I do not want the hon. Member to have any misapprehension about the matter. According to the Devolution Rules, Bombay is not entitled to any reduction out of the present remission.”

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR:—“Their objection is particularly with regard to Bengal”

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM:—“I am only interrupting my hon. Friend to make the position clear. I hope the Council is going to help us with a strong expression of opinion.”

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR:—“So far as we are concerned we are unanimous, including also the Members of Government, that we want a reduction to this extent of Rs. 126 lakhs at once and the gradual abolition of the whole amount. What we have got now is only an indication of willingness on the part of the Government of India to give us this relief. We do not know what the ultimate result of this proposal will be when it is moved by the Government of India in the Assembly. We the Members of this House should give a mandate to our representatives there to make earnest attempts to assist the hon. the Finance Member when he moves this proposition for a reduction of our contribution by Rs. 126 lakhs.

“I wish to say before I proceed to the other general subjects one or two things affecting Malabar. For, I am afraid I may not get time to refer to the other subjects as well. I want to refer, to begin with, to the Victoria College at Palghat. That college is a Government college and a second grade college. It will be noticed, Sir, that there are Government first grade colleges in all the important parts of the Presidency. There is the Presidency College in Madras in addition to the other private first grade colleges. There is a first grade Government college in the south of the Presidency and there is one in the north of the Presidency. But there is no Government first grade college in the West Coast: there is no first grade college in Malabar at all. The desirability and the necessity for raising the second grade Government college that now exists in Palghat to a first grade college was brought to the notice of my hon. Friend the Minister for Education more than once by means of resolutions and by means of notices for reduction in the grant, and, ultimately, he was good enough to appoint a committee consisting of six members—one of whom was the Director of Public Instruction, four were Members of this House and the other was a gentleman acquainted with conditions in Malabar. The committee met several



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times and held consultations and ultimately made a recommendation to the Government. I do not know what the opinion of the Director of Public Instruction is; because I have not seen it. But the opinion of all the other members, the unanimous opinion of all the other members of that committee, was that there should be a first grade college in Malabar. One member was of opinion that it should be in Tellichery while the others were of opinion that it should be in Palghat. I hope my hon. Friend the Minister for Education will give effect to this recommendation. In this connexion I may also say that there is a great need for the establishment of not only a first grade college, but a University on the West Coast—a Kerala University. I find that a provision of Rs. 11,000 is made in the budget for 1925-26 for the appointment of a special officer to go into the questions connected with the establishment of an Andhra University. I have no quarrel with that. I am in full sympathy with the establishment of an Andhra University. The Tamil country wants a University and we find that there are already insistent cries calling for the establishment of a University somewhere in Trichinopoly or Madura. The West Coast has a culture of its own. Travancore, I know, and also the Cochin Government are very anxious to join this Government in the establishment of a Kerala University. As a matter of fact, six years ago, the Travancore Government constituted a committee to go into this question and the committee submitted an interim report. The committee with a change in its personnel again sat to work about two years ago. I know the Travancore Government is very anxious to establish a Kerala University. As this Government is more important than those two Governments, it is for this Government to take the initiative in this matter and if my hon. Friend the Education Minister invites the Travancore Government and the Cochin Government to co-operate with this Government in establishing a Kerala University, I am sure the University would become an accomplished fact in the near future.

“ I have to refer to one other matter relating to Malabar. The hon. the Finance Member stated in his speech introducing the budget that out of a loan of about Rs. 9,00,000 it is proposed to write off about 4 lakhs and odd, the sum advanced to small individual proprietors. It is proposed to write off this amount as also a loan of Rs. 2,13,000 which has been advanced to rubber companies. With reference to this I may say that there is apparently objection in some quarters that it is not a desirable thing to write off an amount advanced as loan. I, however, on behalf of the people of Malabar fully approve the proposal to write off the amount lent to poor people. My hon. Friend Sir Arthur Knapp knows that this sum of Rs. 4,91,000 has been lent in small sums to numerous agriculturists. In fact this sum was advanced under his direction in small sums of Rs. 100, Rs. 200 and so on to persons who lost their all in consequence of the Mappilla rebellion to enable them to build their huts, purchase cattle, etc. No interest has been collected from them and objection is taken to that also. It is a fact that they are unable to pay it and therefore it is a very good proposal to write off this loan. Moreover, the Government have collected, according to the speech made by the hon. the Finance Member, about 9 lakhs by way of fines from the Mappilla prisoners.

“ The Finance Member also proposed to write off Rs. 2,13,000 advanced as loan to rubber companies. I cannot say anything with regard to that. If the rubber companies are not in a position to repay the loan, certainly



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they also need consideration. Then again there is a proposal to grant compensation (Rs. 40,000) to one of these rubber companies. I do not object to it, because I do not know anything about the financial position of the company. But if compensation is to be granted to one rubber company, it is only right and legitimate that compensation should be given to thousands of private persons who have suffered by the rebellion. I would say as a matter of fact that these people deserve such compensation. So that if it is proposed to give this sum of Rs. 40,000 and odd to one rubber company as compensation, it would be absolutely necessary to provide for a much larger sum for payment of compensation to various persons having regard to their loss in the rebellion.

"I find one item in the budget, viz., a provision of about 14,000 rupees for introducing compulsory education among the Mappillas in the taluks of Ponnani and Walluvanad. This is also in the right direction. But may I ask why Ponnani is taken in preference to Ernad for introducing compulsory education? Ponnani except in the last unfortunate rebellion is not generally a troublesome tract. It is Ernad that is troublesome. I would ask that if Ponnani is not a mistake for Ernad, it may be. . ."

The hon. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. PATRO :—"It is on the recommendation of the committee appointed for the purpose that Ponnani was selected."

Diwan Bahadur M. KRISHNAN NAYAR :—"I am afraid that committee has made a very great mistake (laughter). Ernad is certainly the place for the introduction of compulsory education."

\* Mr. K. ABDUL HYE SAHIB :—"While sympathising with the difficulties of the hon. the Finance Member in preparing the Provincial Budget for the coming year, I cannot but feel that this Province has been very unfortunate in facing again this heart-rending deficit budget, as a result of which, I dare say several schemes of grave importance benefiting the country must have been held up."

"But, Sir, this deplorable state of finance could not have been unavoidable, had the retrenchment been observed in the strict sense in some of the departments in which certain items of expenditure have been quite superfluous. Year after year, Sir, great emphasis has been laid inside this House that the intermediate officers such as Conservators of Forests, Deputy Inspectors-General of Police, Assistant Commissioners of Abkari, etc., should be abolished. But in spite of popular feelings and protests these have been allowed to continue. You know, Sir, that top-heaviness in administration is an unwise method on the expenditure side resulting in such state of finance as we are asked to face to-day. We are extremely indebted to the long and labourious efforts of the Retrenchment Committee but we cannot help feeling in this direction that the axe has not been applied wholesale to the root and branch of the administration. With last year's budget we thought that our gloomy days were over but unfortunately they are still hanging on us and now the only salvation seems to lie in the release of the Provincial contribution, which, if released, would mean a boon to this Presidency."

"Now, Sir, with the time at my disposal I want to confine myself to one or two remarks. We, Muhammadans, are anxious to know what the 'Reforms' have done for us. The percentage of literacy among us has been as low as ever."



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1-30 p.m. "The expansion of elementary education, if the Reforms are to yield the maximum benefits, is of paramount importance. There are several villages in the Ceded districts in particular, with large Muslim population where the benefits of elementary education have not been extended, and in places where there are schools for Muhammadan boys the teacher gets his pay so low that he is not able to make a living with it. A school-master who is expected to devote his whole time to his work cannot be expected to get on with a meagre salary of Rs. 15 per month. Every department has its increase in salaries but it is the poor school-master that is not able to get his proper wages. If the Government are acting on the principle that the school-master must be a man of the village and therefore his wants must be few, I submit it is a wrong notion. For even in villages the cost of living has increased enormously. The apathy shown towards Muslim education has been very deplorable. There is a Government Muhammadan Training School at Bellary intended for the teachers of the Muhammadan elementary schools of the Ceded districts run on a tentative basis from 1919, the year of its inception. This school has been producing excellent results in the public examinations and is located in a free magnificent building, thanks to the strenuous efforts of the local people. The work of the school has been reported by the Inspecting officers to be very satisfactory and the question of its confirmation has been pressed so often. In spite of these the Government have shown a lukewarm sympathy towards its confirmation.

"There is one more point I wish to raise before I am done, viz., the scant courtesy shown by the Educational authorities to the request of the Manager of the Arabic College, Kurnool, for providing a hostel building for the use of boys of the Madrassa. The cost of the building was estimated at Rs. 26,000 of which the local Muhammadans have come forward to bear one half. A deputation of Muhammadans had waited on the hon. the Minister for Education in this connexion a few months ago and the hon. the Minister for Education was pleased to promise his support in the matter. I am now surprised to learn, Sir, that two times the plan of the proposed building was returned by the Director of Public Instruction with the remarks to cut short the number of rooms and halls reducing the whole thing to a very small building which would hardly accommodate 50 to 60 students as it is intended to be. This is the only college for oriental languages in the Presidency for Muhammadans and the strength is day by day increasing with the result that the management is obliged to refuse admission owing to insufficient accommodation and those that have been admitted are forced to seek shelter in public mosques. This is an abominable state of affairs and I seriously appeal to the hon. the Minister for Education, interested as he is in my community, not to observe the pennywise policy in this matter but to come to the rescue of the houseless students of the college whose misery is increasing day by day. With these remarks I resume my seat."

Rai Bahadur T. M. NARASIMHACHARLU :—"Sir, it is indeed a matter for congratulation that in spite of adverse circumstances during the current year which converted an anticipated surplus of Rs. 15.18 lakhs into a deficit to Rs. 32.36 lakhs, the Finance Member has not shrunk from allotting funds to improve Education, Irrigation, Medical aid, Agriculture, Public health, Civil Works and so on costing about 29½ lakhs of which 33 lakhs are debited to Railways, and 6½ to loans during 1925 to 1926, even though by so doing the



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deficit is expected to be 88.03 lakhs at the end of the next year and even though this Province has to increase its borrowings by 198.74 lakhs next year, thus accumulating the debt to a total of Rs. 1,451.90 lakhs.

"The only ray of hope to steer clear of this huge deficit is the proposal of a reduction of the iniquitous impost by 126 lakhs. If that relief does not come, owing to the internecine jealousies of other provinces or otherwise, it will be a hopeless matter for Madras at the end of next year. If it comes, the Government will not only cover their deficit but devote the balance to the nation-building and health-giving departments. It is to be hoped that our representatives in the Assembly will so manage those of other provinces that they do not object to the proposed reduction to our Province.

"While I reciprocate the sentiment expressed by the hon. the Finance Member that our aim is to achieve fiscal autonomy, I hope that all other Members of Government both on the Reserved and on the Transferred side will not stop with merely attaining fiscal autonomy but will endeavour to achieve provincial autonomy also. For when we attain that freedom not only in finance but from outside control, we shall be in a position to transfer all departments to the control of popular and responsible Ministers and to administer them in such a way as to give greatest benefits and least burdens to the poor people entrusted to their care.

"As it is, partly owing to the evil effects of dyarchy and partly owing to outside control in finance and other matters, we have not been able to achieve anything tangible at all to increase the productive capacity of the people in matters agricultural, industrial and commercial, except perhaps the questionable benefit of communal representation in services. To increase the productive capacity of the people we must also improve their education and their health and minimise their chances of falling a prey to diseases and epidemics, special care being taken of the health of the infants and children. But alas! enough is not being done in these directions. Unless peoples are healthy and robust and unless direct increased facilities are afforded to them to improve their agriculture, industries and commerce, there can be no increased productivity in the nation and consequently there is no way to find means to meet the ever-growing expenditure of this province. As the Finance Member put it, it is unthinkable to increase the taxation of the people and it is not desirable to effect further retrenchments which are not only unpopular when effected but will seriously affect efficiency. The only remedy therefore seems to be to put an end to dyarchy, to achieve provincial autonomy, and to start in right earnest to improve the education and health and the productive capacity and the material wealth of the people.

"The Land Revenue Bill is still in the air. It is the element of uncertainty and the liability to periodical settlements without any definite and defined principles of taxation, that may be a cause for the slow progress of improvement in agricultural methods. It is the duty of the Government to enact a law satisfactorily to all concerned as early as possible.

"In the matter of Stamp revenue, both judicial and non-judicial, the sooner some relief is given the better it will be. The poor are greatly affected by it. In the case of documents dealing with Rs. 200 and less the old rates may be restored. There is no necessity to charge full ad valorem court fees in the case of ex parte suits and of appeals against decrees in suits of a small cause nature up to Rs. 500.



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"In the case of registration fees including search fees, it is necessary that a reduction should be made at least in the case of documents whose stamps do not exceed Rs. 5 in value.

"In the case of Forests, serious attempts should be made to exploit them on a commercial basis instead of merely attending to their conservancy alone. Attention should also be paid to improving the communications for that purpose. The Government should view the question from the standpoint of the people and give greater facilities and relief in the matter of grazing fees, manure leaves and agricultural timber. I cannot share in the satisfaction expressed by the department that the Village Forest Panchayats are generally a success. There must be some local supervision over the work of the Special Panchayat officer and the panchayats.

"Minor Irrigation should receive greater attention at the hands of the Government as most of the works are badly in want of repairs.

"The Local Fund Audit department is no doubt doing excellent work and is a necessary institution, but to the annoyance of many local bodies, the department has a tendency to usurp the functions of the Government and dictate policy to them and control their powers and discretion, instead of confining themselves to purely audit matters. Will the Government look into this question?

"While some of the hon. Members of this House are anxious to curtail the salaries of the Ministers, they may as well set an example of self-sacrifice by taking double first-class fares for the first hundred miles and a single first-class fare for distances over 100 miles of railway journey, as that would meet all extra costs incurred by them. The local board presidents have cheerfully submitted to the decision of this Council and the hon. Ministers also have each given up Rs. 1,000 of their pay every month. Cannot we do that much?

"The Police consume nearly one-eighth of our income and yet what is the net result of their existence? Crimes have not decreased; their detection is poor, both in quality and quantity; and the majority of their charge sheets fail before courts. I cannot say if their honesty and sincerity have improved; at least as a compensation for their inefficiency. Something should be done to improve it to justify this large expenditure. Cannot this Government improve it on the model of the London police for courtesy, efficiency and honesty?

"While it is gratifying to see the honest and successful efforts to improve primary education by providing 875 new schools this year and 1,017 next year and by gradually extending compulsory education, it is somewhat disappointing that greater provision was not made for secondary education. Many schools have been opened whose net cost is borne by the Government but they have no habitation and proper equipments. The strength of the Law College is said to be going down. Can it be due to the policy of the Government in appointing very raw and junior lawyers as assistant professors? The drastic retrenchment in the Public Works staff may account for the diminished strength of students in the Engineering colleges, but how to account for the same in the Law College?

"In the Local Self-Government department administered by the hon. the Chief Minister, not only greater freedom has been secured to the local bodies, but substantial assistance has been rendered to them to stabilise their finance, but for which they would have been in a hopeless condition by



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now. Communications, medical aid and public health have not escaped his attention. In spite of undeserved odium and hostile criticism, he has established the school of Indian Medicine and recognized the Ayurvedic and Unani systems as requiring State aid and care. He has also introduced medical aid in rural areas and its successful working will pave the way for greater relief. With all that, much more remains to be done to improve communication, health and medical aid. Poor district boards require compassionate grants. Villages require roads and water-supply. Infants require greater care. Epidemics require to be combated. The salaries of health officers are deducted out of grants of second-class roads which were for augmenting the general resources. This must be released and their salaries should be met from provincial funds.

1-45 p.m. "Now that the Religious Endowments Act is an accomplished fact, it is earnestly hoped that the hon. the Minister will work it in a smooth and successful way, with due regard to the susceptibilities and sentiments of those that are affected by it and without attempting violent changes opposed to the customs and usages of the institutions. For, after all, we Hindu Members are interested in the preservation of our ancient religious usages.

"I would also suggest that Government should transfer public buildings and minor irrigation to the control of Local Self-Government, so that the district board engineer and his staff may do such works. There is not much work for them in their respective departments and the district board engineer will be able to cope with them. As a measure of economy, this suggestion may be given effect to.

"I have already adverted to the unsatisfactory progress of the departments under the hon. the Development Minister for which the force of circumstances, and not he, is entirely responsible. These departments are merely marking time. The masses have not yet been benefited in any marked way by the existence of the Agricultural department or the passing of the State Aid to Industries Act. However, in one respect he can do much. Let him give more relief to the poor cattle by establishing more veterinary dispensaries and touring assistants in the Presidency. They are dying of rinderpest and other diseases. If they are saved, it will be a great relief to the ryots.

"I hope that the reduction in the iniquitous impost will be a reality and not a dream and that next year will be a prosperous one with seasonal rains and no devastating floods or famine, so that we may close it with a surplus instead of the anticipated deficit of 88 lakhs."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—"It is usual to congratulate the hon. the Finance Member on such occasions as this. But I am afraid that we should, in this year, make a departure. He has represented the Government in the presentation of the budget and we must therefore wholly condemn and censure the Government for the unsatisfactory kind of the budget and of the speech with which it was introduced. When new taxes were imposed some years ago, soon after the Councils were formed, it was understood that some years afterwards, these taxes would be either remitted completely or considerably reduced. But there is absolutely no ray of hope in that line. Incomes have been increasing and expenditure also has been increasing more and more. Without any pang of conscience, if the Government have any, they have said that a large portion of this expenditure is due



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to the increase in the salaries of the various officers. We have been saying over and over again that the Government must reduce the expenditure by way of establishments in the higher services. There are people like the Editor of the *Madras Mail* and his folk, who may be amazed at a statement like that. But we are not surprised at such things because they are steeped in ignorance. They do not care to remember this Council passed two years ago, by way of recommendation to the Government, that both the salaries and the number of the higher officers should be curtailed. They do not remember even what the self-sacrificing Indian Officers' Association stated before the Lee Commission in their memorial. The country, as a whole, demands that the pay and the number of officers in the higher services should be curtailed. We know the Editor of the *Madras Mail* and his colleagues care only for highly paid European officers, and justify their salaries and increments.

"My friend from Coimbatore was referring to the question of votables and non-votables. I do not know whether there is any use at all in referring to it.

"But the whole question is this. We in the Council are only regarded as advisory committees. The Government have been dealing with the advisory committees for their own purposes. If they record any resolution in their favour, it is published, tom-tommed and all that. If any resolution is passed by these committees against the Government, it is considered as advisory. Curiously enough, the Finance Committee undergoes the same fate."

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM:—"I should like to know under what statute the Finance Committee is appointed."

MR. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR:—"The Finance Committee is appointed under the rules framed under the statute of this Council. Confidential papers are placed before the Finance Committee and they are asked whether they would recommend certain schemes or not. The Committee unanimously refuses to recommend certain applications and yet we see that afterwards they are sanctioned by the Government and they add to the deficit.

"Another point I want to say is this. So far as the question of the cotton excise duties is concerned, the master-juggler in Delhi has very carefully omitted to say anything in his long budget speech about it. Our own conviction is that the question is a national one between India on the one hand and England and its ally Japan on the other, whereas the question of provincial contributions is a matter of a large amount of money to the provinces. Therefore, many of us would certainly like to have both. The excise duty is to be removed and the provincial contribution to be reduced and gradually to be completely remitted. If one only reads the speech of the hon. the Finance Member in the Assembly, he can very well see that there is a large surplus in the income of the last year and of the current year. Whenever there is no surplus, they want more taxes. Whenever the taxes yield surplus, they find out magical wands as it were to turn those surpluses. They want to add to the reserve and provide for railways, etc. As the *Hindu* recently remarked, the Finance Member has been always exaggerating the expenditure in the budget and therefore I say that provision can easily be made for about 3 crores to remove the cotton excise duties.



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Three crores of duties mean at least 100 crores in the price of cloth. There can be no doubt that if these 3 crores are released in the price of cloth, the benefit will go to the consumer. Even if it were otherwise, it will go to the pockets of the Indian millowners and the money will be spent in India. Therefore, we must be careful in expressing any opinion of preference of the one or the other. I hope this House will not be drawn into the trap of saying that this is preferable to the other because we will be unnecessarily creating ill-feeling to our sister province, Bombay, and we will be doing great harm to the cotton industry that is rising in this Presidency also.

"Well, Sir, I wish to refer to the question of retrenchment. The Government should take some steps to reduce the emoluments of officers. May I appeal to the hon. Ministers and to the Executive Members, especially the Indian portion, to voluntarily and kindly forego a large portion of their pay? About Rs. 3,000 or Rs. 3,500 should be reasonable consistent with their dignity and the national welfare of the country. Finally, Sir, I would implore the Government and His Excellency to do something in the current year by way of appointing a committee which will reduce the number and pay of the various officers in the higher departments.

"Coming to the Budget, I do not think it matters very much whether any item is votable or non-votable. One thing is peculiar, that the reserved portion contributes to about 13 crores of expenses and there is a large number of non-votable highly paid officers, whereas the transferred half gets only about 4 crores.

"It was said that this Council did not represent the masses and that we did not insist on spending more money on villages. Now it is otherwise and we insist that the Local Self-Government Department and the hon. the Finance Member should spend more money to improve the local sanitation of villages, especially by way of providing for roads, water-supply and medical relief.

"I do not want to go at this stage into the question whether Ayurvedic and Unani systems are preferable to western methods. It will be a good lesson to the people to learn the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine for they will know how vegetables and drugs can be used for medicinal purposes. I do not know how much will be available out of the 126 lakhs for the benefit of villages. We hope that a large sum out of that will be given to the development of villages.

"A second point in which the villagers are interested is elementary education. We are in the unfortunate position of having a number of citadels without any foundation. We have a number of officers in each district without any money for them to spend. We have gigantic elementary education councils without practically any money to use. The hon. the Minister is going to say that in the budget for 1925-26 he has provided for all that the Educational councils want. They have not yet sent their budgets and unfortunately last year's experience has shown that there is no use of asking money. They are trying to curtail their demands. Practically nothing has been provided for village school buildings. The same thing can be said of secondary education.

"There is no subsidy to be given to schoolmasters. There again, the secondary education boards give their elaborate opinions and the result, I



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am afraid, is a big zero. Therefore I hope that more grants will be given to buildings and establishments for higher schools in the Presidency.

"One word about the first grade colleges. I am one of those who strongly want a first grade college in Palghat. But it is too early to say as to what its fate will be in the Cabinet. Anyhow, we require a first grade college for the West Coast.

"As for universities, the less said, the better. Big name, long Act, but  
2 p.m. no money. And we are going to have some more universities. I would rather prefer that the first born child is well nourished and is not allowed to die a natural death or live a starved life before other children or other universities are brought into existence.

"So far as the Excise Department is concerned, it is a deplorable tale. We have an excellent Minister in thoughts at the head of the department, but in action he has been more or less reactionary. No attempt of his has been of any use. Debate after debate has been raised, cut after cut has been proposed, speech after speech has been made with the result that what was only three crores of revenue a few years ago has now increased to five or five and a half crores. It is growing like a monster. But what is curious is this—I think it has not been published but will be published in a day or two—what was till now the Transferred Provincial subject of Excise is going practically to be converted by one shake of the magical wand of the Government of India into a Central subject as it were. I am not here going to refer to the Local Option Bill since I have not got the final answer in my hands. I am told that the Government of India have refused permission to introduce such a Bill. I think the sooner we end such shams as Transferred subjects and Provincial subjects the better. If a Minister is given the responsibility and if we are given the right of controlling his work his words should be respected not merely by this Council, not merely by his colleagues in the Government but also by the Government of India. So far as the Excise department is concerned, if the Local Option Bill is introduced, the Advisory Committee will be able to do something. I hope that it will not be rejected by the Government of India.

"As for the Development Minister I do not want to say much. So far as the State Aid to Industries Act is concerned I must say that though I am a Member of the Committee the Act is not administered as liberally as it should be. The amount granted as loans is not as large as it should be. If there is any difficulty in the Act as to whether several applications come under the Act or not, as there seems to be at present, the sooner we amend the Act the better. If the relief given is to be of any use we must find out means of giving more money to the various firms that apply for grants.

"With regard to Agriculture, no doubt money is being spent on the Agricultural College and other institutions. We want more money to be spent on the various junior officers at the bottom who might go to the various villages and farms and teach the rustics a better and more useful way of cultivating their lands scientifically. But so far as I have been able to see, even villages near Coimbatore have not to any extent been materially benefited by the Agricultural College and by the large expenditure that is being incurred. I hope things will improve and somehow or other more money will be spent for improving the agriculture of the country.



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"As for industries, let us hope that something more substantial will be done. There is still something or other being experimented on. Government should be able to find out some new industries which would be useful to the country and improve them.

"As I said, Sir, from all points of view the budget that has been presented to us is not a satisfactory one and unless there is a change in the heart of the Government there is absolutely no use in our going through this farce; for I consider this discussion of the budget as a huge costly farce just like the jamabandi in the districts. We come here, make speeches, and sometimes very rarely make cuts. All these are brushed aside. Last year there was a cut to the effect that the Board of Revenue should be abolished. We wanted the stamp duties to be reduced; Government said, 'No' to all these. We wanted the judicial and the executive functions to be separated; Government said, 'No' to this. What is the use of the farce of wasting so much of our time and of the time of the Government? We come here and make speeches; they are reported; sometimes the two sides join together and make some important cuts; but we wake to find that they are all brushed aside and that we are no better than we were. There is absolutely no use of all these discussions unless the Government changes its heart. I appeal to the Government, and especially to the Indian Members and the Ministers, to change their hearts. Let the Indian Members and the Ministers so conduct themselves that their presence is felt and their powers recognized. If anything serious happens to jeopardise their power and popularity, let them resign. Government cannot afford to let them resign. If the Ministers are sincere and say they would resign unless they are allowed to push on with the schemes for the improvement of education, health and sanitation, etc., of people, they would be able to improve the condition of the country.

"Lastly I appeal to the hon. the Law Member to show his sympathies with regard to the irrigation of the country in action. He told us last year that he would make big cuts in the Police department but we find none at all. We wanted the number of Indians as district judges to be improved; he told us that he was waiting for the report of the Lee Commission. The Lee Commission Report has come and gone with an addition of ten lakhs to our expenditure. I appeal to him to do something to increase the number of Indian Judges."

\* Mr. B. RAMACHANDRA REDDI :—"Sir, the hon. the Minister for Education is of course making laudable attempts for the early realization of the Andhra University, but I am afraid he has not been able to make much advance in the path of success. Whether it is due to the bad finances of the Government or whether it is on account of other extraneous circumstances over which he might not have control, the matter is still being postponed; and another attempt is now made probably to postpone its early realization by appointing a special officer for its creation at a cost of Rs. 11,000, which is provided for in the budget under discussion. May I suggest, Sir, that pending its early realization, the hon. the Education Minister might think of redressing certain of the grievances of Andhras in the Educational Service? There is now once more set on foot an agitation for better recognition of Andhra talent in the Service. It is said that only eight Andhras have been taken into the Provincial Educational Service (Madras Education Services) and only one into the Indian Educational Service ever since the inauguration of the Educational Department, and that out of



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79 posts in the Collegiate branch of the Subordinate Educational Service only 15 are held by the Andhras, and in the three posts outside the cadre, there is not even one Andhra. There are such other difficulties which the hon Minister must try to redress ere long.

"There is another clamour loudly made not by Andhras alone, but by all people in the Province, regarding the inadequate pay of officers in the Subordinate Educational Service. Whereas in the Public Works and Judicial departments the Services have been placed above corruption by increasing their pay, 200 or 300 per cent all on a sudden, the responsible officers in the Education Department on whom depends the very development of the nation have not been placed above want. It is regrettable that though a small remission of 126 lakhs from the provincial contribution is assured, and though, as the hon. the Finance Member has said, a bigger slice has been swallowed by the hon. the Education Minister from the amount doled out to the Transferred departments, nothing has been done or even attempted to be done in alleviating the sufferings of the officers in the Subordinate Educational Service. Some sections of the service also are corruptible and let me sound a note of warning, Sir, that any delay in redressing their grievances is likely to drive them desperate into corruption which from the national point of view is a degeneration.

"Too many promises have been made by the Government and much has been expected of them regarding the reinstating of village officers who have been uncharitably sent out as a consequence of the unwise policy of regrouping of villages. Till to-day they have not come to a decision, and when they are willing to arrive at one is not perhaps known even to them.

"A further difficulty under which the village headmen suffer is regarding the batta which they are now ordered to receive when attending criminal courts. It is the well-known policy of Government, Sir, that whenever finances are likely to be touched honour is spoken of in loud terms, and when honour is touched finances are spoken of in louder terms; and when both of them are touched at once, silence is the only argument that the Government advance. This is really deplorable, and the Government cannot successfully shut the eyes of the people for all time. It is high time, Sir, that the Government should try to think more briskly about these vital points, and decide soon in favour of reinstating the removed village officers, and of allowing second class batta as formerly when headmen attend criminal courts on Government business. I am sure, Sir, that the latter suggestion will not put the Government to any great expense.

"Turning to the Veterinary department, I wish to throw out a couple of suggestions for the Government to think about. The touring Veterinary assistants are not able to turn out much work on account of various reasons. They are turning out only half as much work as an equal number of assistants are doing in hospitals and dispensaries. Taking the figures available for the last three years, we find the following:

| Year.   | Touring officers. | Number of cases treated | Officers in hospitals and dispensaries. | Number of cases treated. |
|---------|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1921-22 | 64                | 42,837                  | 63                                      | 72,969                   |
| 1922-23 | 70                | 45,120                  | 65                                      | 80,924                   |
| 1923-24 | 72                | 40,030                  | 71                                      | 82,401                   |



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2-15 p.m. “The propaganda work for which the touring system has been inaugurated at first, is well nigh over, and the villagers are now aware that there is a department called the Veterinary department maintained by the Government and that treatment to animals is given by that department. But they are not aware where to get the treatment as there are not sufficient number of dispensaries to resort to throughout the length and breadth of the districts, and the few assistant surgeons are not available to the villagers as they will be touring during a greater part of the month. It is therefore time, Sir, that this touring system must be put an end to all these touring officers being stationed in well-equipped hospitals and dispensaries at various convenient centres. The amount saved from the travelling allowances of these officers may be utilized for equipping new hospitals and dispensaries.

“Secondly, the pay of the veterinary assistant surgeons and their emoluments are too low to be neglected any longer. Without the hope of private practice, with always the fearful necessity of dealing with animals which amply return them with kicks and butts, with very little certainty of remaining at home throughout the month, the condition of these veterinary officers is really deplorable, and needs remedy as early as possible.

“From the department that gives medical aid to animals, I now proceed to the department that gives medical aid to human beings. The rural medical scheme which was received by this House, and by the public at large, with so much of satisfaction, has not proved to be very effective, and is not going to be a success if things do not improve, if more money is not allotted for that, and if systems other than the allopathic are not given preference. No doubt it is too early to pronounce any opinion for or against the existing system. It is within the knowledge of everybody that an allopathic system will be a failure without proper equipment. It is a system of bottles and instruments and assistants. In the absence of proper provision for all these, the expected result will not be produced. At least, to begin with, provision must be made for a midwife in every one of these new dispensaries on a decent pay. Then again, it is needless to say once more and that to the hon. the Minister for Local Self-Government, that an early inauguration of the indigenous systems in these new dispensaries is the only and possible way of making the scheme a success.

“The hon. the Chief Minister deserves the hearty encomiums of all Indians, both Brahmans and non-Brahmans, for the very successful effort he has made in the realization of the fond hope of developing the indigenous systems of medicine by establishing the school of Indian Medicine. But, Sir, many more of that sort must be established, and I hope the hon. the Minister will leave no stone unturned to have it done.”

Mr. P. SIVA RAO:—“Sir, our finances at present present a woeful tale. We have landed ourselves in a heavy deficit of 88 lakhs. The national services are practically starved. There has been no appreciable progress towards nation-building. Our total indebtedness will have risen to about 12 crores. And to cover our deficit anticipated in the current year and for other purposes we have to borrow further a sum of nearly 2 crores.

“It will be useful to inquire into the causes that have led to this calamity. Adverse seasons and flood havoc in some places account for a small fall in the revenues of the current year. It was anticipated that the year 1924-25



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would close with a surplus of about 15 lakhs. Results have completely falsified the expectations entertained a year ago and the current year according to the revised estimate is likely to close with a deficit of about 32 lakhs.

"The expenditure has grown enormously from the year 1921. From the total expenditure of 1,101 lakhs during the pre-Reform year of 1920-21 charged to Revenue it rose to about 16 crores between 1921 and 1925 and it will mount up to, according to the budget estimates for the coming year, about 17 crores, nearly a crore over the expenditure of the previous year. The salary bill which has immensely swollen in recent years may account for a portion of the increase. The working of the Reforms which is a costly experiment may account for some. The carrying out of the recommendations of the Lee Commission report which were imposed on us in defiance of the united wishes of the people has added to our troubles. In spite of all these, allowances being made for all this increased expenditure, one cannot help feeling that there is something rotten in the State of Denmark, and that somebody is fiddling while Rome is burning.

"Unless the pruning knife is vigorously applied in all departments there is no hope of salvation, or of bettering our financial condition. Our finances are becoming worse day by day in spite of the levy of additional taxation in the form of court fees and stamp and registration fees. The additional taxes which were cleverly ushered in as being transient and temporary are threatening to be permanent. The one solution of our difficulty lies in our securing relief from the iniquitous burden of the provincial contributions. We have been paying a very heavy sum of 348 lakhs to the Government of India. The long looked-for relief though to a small extent is in sight. The hon. the Finance Member, while introducing the budget in the Government of India, has proposed a remission of 126 lakhs in favour of Madras. It is too much to say whether the proposal will be finally passed by the Legislative Assembly or not. Powerful forces and counter-forces have been at work and it is not possible to predict what turn the events will take in the next few days. It is not for money doles or charity that we have been asking. I quite agree with the hon. the Finance Member when he states in his speech that we ourselves are not asking for a remission of our contributions as charity but as a right to which we are entitled as soon as the finances of the Government of India permit. It was on this ground that we put forward our claim when we had to give our evidence before Lord Meston's Committee. Anybody who turns to the history of these contributions will be convinced of our position. When as a result of the Reforms the heads of revenue which hitherto remained divided were abolished and complete fiscal autonomy was granted to the provinces in respect of the departments committed to their care, it was conceded that all the collections made within the limits of a province out of the heads of revenue allocated to its charge must properly appertain to that province, and that it could be appropriated by the Government of India for certain imperial purposes or during critical times as during war. And these contributions were levied at the time in view of the severe stringency of the then existing finances of the Government of India with a distinct undertaking that they would gradually be remitted and finally extinguished as soon as circumstances permitted. The pledge or undertaking was not made conditional upon our keeping the cotton excise duty intact. I quite agree with the hon. the Finance Member that we should



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give a clear mandate on the question of provincial contributions to our representatives in the Legislative Assembly and ask him to make a vigorous and strenuous effort to support the proposal for remission to the full extent proposed in the budget. I agree with him only so far and no farther in this matter. I strongly differ from him when he says 'the choice is between the needs of our people and the profits of the mill-owners', nor can I persuade myself to think like him that the removal of the cotton excise duty would have no effect in cheapening the clothing of the poor or reducing for them the cost of living. I am absolutely convinced that if the price of cloth is reduced and that even if the whole of the benefit goes to the all-India mill-owners—I have read sufficient political economy to realize it—the sum so saved for our country will slowly and gradually reach the masses. I am afraid the hon. the Finance Member has put a thoroughly wrong and irrelevant issue before the House. Hon. Sir Basil Blackett did not raise it in that alternative form. You remember that a few years ago the issue was clearly put before the Indian Legislative Assembly whether to leave the salt tax where it was and get a partial remission of contributions or to reduce the tax and not claim any relief. The hon. the Finance Member himself does not present a dilemma for our solution this time. The retention of the cotton excise duty is not made the condition precedent to the grant of the remission, to borrow the lawyer's language. I may candidly say that both the removal of the cotton excise duty and the remission of provincial contribution are possible, just and necessary. Both the ends could be easily achieved if only the Indian Government make up their mind. The Indian Legislative Assembly recently passed a practically unanimous resolution for the abolition of the cotton excise in which members of all shades of opinion, Swarajists, Independents and Liberals, joined. There is obviously pressure exercised from Lancashire. A desperate effort is made by the Government of India to retain the obnoxious cotton excise duty by provoking inter-provincial jealousies for their support and by throwing in a bait in the way of Madras and certain other provinces. Bombay which could not possibly consent to the retention of the cotton excise duty is mercilessly ignored in its claim for remission. It is a clever ruse skilfully resorted to. I have to warn the Members of this House to be wary and not to fall into the trap laid for them by deciding issues which do not properly arise before them. If I am asked the hypothetical question, which do you prefer, abolition of cotton excise or relief in contributions, I may answer the issue does not arise. I decline to pass any judgment, but I do not feel shy of the matter. If it is necessary for me to answer this question, I would most unhesitatingly answer, remission or no remission, remove the cotton excise which is an age-long and chronic evil of the country. We want protection both against Lancashire and also Japan. The removal of excise duty will benefit the whole of India and is of national importance—it has been a cry in the wilderness raised for about half a century—whereas the remission of contribution will benefit only Madras. Cloth is the most primary necessity of life and India must be self-sufficing and all shackles imposed against its productivity should be removed at all costs.

"Lastly, I allude to a matter which affects our famine stricken districts of Bellary and Anantapur. In December the House passed an almost unanimous resolution for the reduction of certain resettlement rates proposed for the western or the red-soil taluks of the Bellary district. We thought the same principle would apply to the eastern or the black cotton soil taluks



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also, as to which orders had been passed in 1922, though its introduction had been postponed on account of the seasonal conditions then prevailing. We are anxious to know whether the resolution passed by the House has been accepted by the Government; if so, whether the same principle has been extended to the eastern taluks as well and the orders passed in 1922 have been accordingly revised; and, lastly, how much credit is taken for revenue on that account in the coming year and at what rates."

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA:—"Mr. President, Sir, I beg to point out that I miss very much in the budget estimates, statement or memorandum, the Gladstonian method of exposition and elucidation of the policy and principles underlying important changes in the figures instead of the British-Indian system of mere explanation (admirable as it is here) of the relation of the figures to one another which result in the members of the Council groping and striking about in the dark, followed by Government Members and Ministers exposing our folly rather than our wisdom in attacking this point or that. The old speeches of Finance Ministers like Gladstone and others used to expound the policy and principles that underlay important changes in the administration. Here we find nothing of the sort. We proceed to attack the budget estimates; but then the Ministers or Members come forward and say: 'Oh! this attack is not called for; this is absurd; that is so and so.' We are made fools of. Therefore instead of criticising the budget estimates, I approach the Government Executive Members and Ministers with a number of queries which I hope they will answer at the close of the present general discussion of the budget. Afterwards we may come forward with our attacks on the right points when the budget is discussed in detail. My first question is why opportunity was not taken of the vacancy of the Revenue Membership to reduce the number of Executive Members on the Treasury Bench to three, which would enable the House to reduce the Ministers to two, and whether the functions of two Executive Members as before could not be done by three Executive Members and two Ministers.

2-30 p.m. "Formerly, we had only two Members of the Executive Council in Madras, and so also in Bombay, and these two Members of the Government did all the work which four Executive Councillors and three Ministers are supposed to do at present. I really wonder what they are really doing. The one great feature which I am opposed to is the grand tours of the Ministers with receptions, banquets, garden parties, and their making grand speeches adumbrating big schemes which are never carried out. They are doing, I am afraid, more electioneering tours with speeches than things which would be of any use to the country. What I would ask is, why should not the Ministers sometimes pay surprise visits, instead of giving long notices of their movements beforehand, and see how things are getting on? Then they will be able to see and tell us something of facts. They will not also give such answers as 'The Government have no information.' I really wonder why they cannot get real information, and what after all is the trouble they would have to take to find out the real state of things in the country? I put a question about a year ago whether the hon. the Chief Minister was aware that our town of Mangalore was infested with lepers, and the reply was 'Government have no information'. As a matter of fact, the hon. the Chief Minister had visited our town of Mangalore twice before, once to only open a bridge, though it was hardly necessary for him to do so, and yet he



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was not aware that our town is infested with lepers. Anybody who passes over our roads, if he has eyes to see and observe things with, can easily know the fact. What is the use of replying that the Government have no information on such a vitally important matter as that? We now find a lot of people busying themselves about the question of leprosy because the Viceroy and other big people have moved in the matter. Why could not Government get at it before? Any local officer, the Collector or the chairman of the municipality, could have easily given the information. It is all very well to dance about, now that the Viceroy and others are moving in the matter, but it was then *suo motu* really a question of doing something humanitarian to the people, but in this cause the Ministers were nowhere and did nothing.

"Another point I want to touch is on the lying-in hospital at Mangalore. It is such a disgrace to the Government and the public that I think the hon. the Chief Minister should have known it two years ago when he visited that institution. I have seen with my own eyes 11 or 12 women in the maternity ward, which is not more than 12 by 20 feet. In this, these women were huddled together in the most miserable condition. And I am told that sometimes it is even worse, and if the hon. the Minister did come to know of it, I am sure he should have done something. We in Mangalore have now collected about Rs. 20,000 and applied for some provision being made. I find nothing in the budget which shows an attempt at least to meet us half-way and give us something so that we can start the hospital at once. It is so very badly needed and I want to know what the Government is going to do in this matter, in the way of giving us something. We have got only about Rs. 20,000 and we want something more to begin the work at once.

"The Indian Lepers Act was passed in the year 1898 and as yet Government have taken no measures whatever for the last 20 years to provide us with any large hospital or give adequate aid to the existing leper asylums in Mangalore and elsewhere. Now at last comes the big scheme of a leper colony at Chingleput which has been pitched upon us without taking the public into confidence and ascertaining the general opinion whether a large leper colony at a cost of several lakhs of rupees in Chingleput district would satisfy the needs and conveniences of the whole Presidency. Every leper would naturally wish to remain in a place near his own and among people talking the same language as he does, and do you expect that people from Malabar or Kanara would willingly go all the way to the Chingleput district for being properly housed, treated and taken care of? Apart from that, the question is whether Government is now entrusting the work to a society which would economically carry out the functions of a leper asylum. Dealing with lepers is a thing of a very difficult nature, and among us, Roman Catholics, we have got religious orders several centuries old who have been dealing with this question, who have been looking after lepers as a labour of love, who have given up the world and whose one object in life is the care of the sick even at the risk and sacrifice of their lives. Men and women like Father Daniel have contracted leprosy in order to save lepers and have died as lepers. Such religious persons can do useful work. As a matter of fact we find at Chingleput an arrangement was arrived at with a religious order in the year 1913, and we have not heard much of it afterwards. Now at last, as a very big scheme is started from big quarters,



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the question has been taken up, but the question is whether the Government is really going to provide us with a suitable leper asylum in the country which will be useful and at the same time will be economically and humanely managed.

“ Another point I want to mention is this. I want to know why the Government have not abolished the Fisheries Department as proposed by the Retrenchment Committee and whether it would not be more economical to get the fishing yards supervised by the officials of the Customs Department as in the Bombay Presidency, why Government sought to make their factories (soap, ink, jam and fish canning) more profit-making than educative for the industrially inclined people and what measures Government have taken or contemplate taking in order to advise owners of industries in the matter of improving them in various ways. This is very important because at present the policy of the department is to make the concerns only profit-making ones. I think that the hon. the Minister for Development is under the impression that our party insists on the principle of these concerns being profit-making ones. It is most important from our point of view that they should be of educative value. The soap factory, for instance, can be used for training apprentices who can learn the work in a practical way, who can get experience of mixing and doing other little things by means of which good superior soaps can be made. I admit that superior soaps are being made in these factories, but apprentices are not taken into them in spite of the assurances from the other side. The tendency is to keep these factories as a close preserve for a few people, but they must be made to train other people, so that we may manufacture very superior soaps which can compete with foreign manufactured soaps. There is no use of this department being made the close preserve of a few. I also want to know whether any and what measures were taken by Government for advising owners of industries to improve their industries. I understand that the advice given is useless. It is moreover costly because I am told that high fees are exacted and the advice given is of very little practical use to an outsider.

“ Then, I want to ask what the future excise policy of the Government is. Unfortunately in our Presidency the production and sale of liquor have been developed to a greatly ruinous and dangerous extent. Liquor should be manufactured by reliable firms and such liquor only may be sold but not liquor which is in a very filthy and altogether useless condition, which is more harmful than good. Now, unfortunately these two departments of Excise and Education are in the hands of one Minister, and when he looks at a big educational scheme and wants it carried out, surely he would not be inclined to do anything to reduce the consumption of liquor. Therefore I think the Excise Department should be entirely separated and taken out of the hands of the Ministers and put under a separate and independent body, and until that is done I am sure the Ministers would never take into their serious consideration the question of the reduction of liquor. Bombay has faced this question boldly and has determined to reduce the liquor consumption in spite of reduction of revenue, by means of what is called the rationing system, and it is hoped that that system would reduce the consumption of liquor to nil in the course of twenty years. I do not see any reason why our hon. Minister should not face the question as boldly as the Bombay Government.



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"Another wonder to me is this. Our Education Minister waxes eloquent over free and compulsory education. But at the same time there is an order to increase the fees of school children, in fact to double the fees, and when we asked why he doubled the fees, he says that the fees would be reduced to one half or still less, but in order to be entitled to the reduced fees you must get a certificate that the pupils are poor."

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—"As regards elementary schools, no fees are levied, Sir."

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"I am talking of upper secondary schools. I want that all children should be induced to go to such schools, the girls especially. When you speak of free and compulsory education, I fail to see why in the case of girls at least, they should not have the concession of half rates."

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—"On the production of a poverty certificate, half concessions are given to the pupil."

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"Poverty certificate is not so easy to get. There are many poor people who are not prepared to go to a doctor and ask for a poverty certificate."

Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—"One need not go to a doctor for a certificate, Sir. The certificate here in question is a poverty certificate to be got from an officer."

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"Even then they will feel it very painful to go to anybody and ask for a certificate of poverty. It is not at all a pleasant thing. There are hundreds of people I know who are poor and at the same time have a sense of dignity. They will not go and obtain a certificate of poverty. (At this stage the gong was sounded.)"

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA :—"I want to know what is the policy of the Government in the matter of adopting measures for the restriction and prevention of constant accidents from motor vehicles which are proving a great danger to the passers by."

Sriman BISWANATH DAS Mahasaya :—"Mr. Deputy President, Sir, this is the fifth budget that we have seen after the Reforms. It is usual on these occasions to pour praises on the hon. the Finance Member and the Finance Secretary. Unfortunately this year we have very little to praise the hon. the Finance Member for, though we will not be doing our duty if we do not appreciate the fine and lucid statement that is furnished to us by the Finance Secretary. Well, Sir, looking into the budget one finds the usual happy position of a deficit budget. A deficit budget I deliberately call 'happy' in the case of an irresponsible Bureaucracy which is not responsible to the vote of the House. I ask the hon. Mr. Graham if he as a British citizen would tolerate it if the

2-45 p.m.

British Parliament were presented with such a budget consecutively for years together. He as a British citizen would certainly not only protest against it but would go far and turn out the Government which framed it. I think it is in the Legislative Assembly, Sir, that Sir H. M. Gour said to the Government, 'If you cannot manage, leave it to other hands who could well manage it.' That would be the only comment that could be made in criticising a budget of the kind that we have



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before us. The unfortunate position is that year after year we have been told that our finances would improve, and unfortunately it is never our good luck to see that our finances have actually improved. Looking into the previous years, from the memorandum furnished by the Finance Secretary, we find that in the pre-Reform days we were having a good opening balance as also a closing balance—opening and closing balances amounting to crores of rupees. I believe in the year 1916-17 we had as much as Rs 1½ crores as opening balance and a closing balance of Rs. 1.10 crores, and what is our position now? Our position is an empty chest, and the Finance Member says 'Come and have the key at any time you please.' That is the happy position of the hon. the Finance Member. This, Sir, is horrible and unthinkable. I call it horrible to borrow money to meet the current expenditure of Government. It is a bad financial policy and makes the Government irresponsible when they borrow money without resorting to taxation. I would refer the hon. the Finance Member to the Montford Report, page 208, paragraph 256, where the illustrious authors of the Report say 'If the revenue is insufficient for the needs, the question of new taxation will be decided by the Governor and the Ministers.' I would ask the Treasury Bench to go to the countryside with new taxation measures and justify their action. That should be the right attitude of the Executive instead of borrowing money and growing more and more irresponsible year after year and time after time.

"Sir, a bait has been thrown in his speech that some consideration would be shown to the Transferred subjects if the contribution is remitted. I would very strongly protest against such baits, and I deliberately call them 'baits'. Because to us it is very difficult to decide one way or the other, whether to agree to a reduction of the cotton excise duty or to the Provincial contribution. Looking into his budget speech, he has amply justified himself and the action of the Reserved Half which he calls as 'modest', and it is only the Transferred Half that has been starved, and I do not know what he would call it. Then he gradually brings in the question of the dead-weight debt which he would redeem if he gets the contribution remitted. I would appeal to the House to seriously consider this aspect of the question and never agree to anything of the kind. I would reject the budget as also the suggestion regarding remission with all the scorn it deserves unless and until we are assured, as we were given to understand for the last four or five years, that the whole of this amount will be utilized for the Transferred departments."

The hon. the DEPUTY PRESIDENT :—"I appeal to the hon. Member not to use too colloquial words like 'abominable', 'scorn', etc."

Sriman BISWANATH DAS Mahasayo :—"Thanks, Sir, I bow to you. Then, Sir, there is a limit to our patience (laughter). Just after the Reforms we approved of the taxation measures on the ground that the times were abnormal. Well, the abnormal times have changed and we are now in normal times for the last two years. In other provinces, the taxation measures have been removed from the Statute Book. Well, Sir, other provinces like Bengal while giving their consent to the taxation measures made the Government to commit themselves to spend a certain portion of the increased stamp and registration fees on the Transferred departments, and nothing of the kind was insisted upon in our province. All those measures



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were assented to here by us and still we are where we were. All these go to show that the Executive have become very irresponsible; they have grown more irresponsible than they were before.

"Then, I come to the number of Executive Councillors. I believe three years ago it was on the motion of my hon. Friend from Madras, Mr. Tanikachalam Chetti, that we practically unanimously accepted a resolution reducing the number of Executive Councillors to three. To an interpellation put from this side of the House, the hon. the Finance Member says that he has communicated the resolution to the Government of India without caring to inform us what the opinion of this Government was on the question, without caring to tell us what action the Government of India has taken on it. Though the illustrious authors of the Montford Report thought a strength of two for the Executive Council was sufficient, an option was given by the Joint Committee either to make it two or four and our Government want to have it at the full maximum strength of four, and also to have the maximum amount of salary fixed for them under the Act. All these again confirm our opinion that once the bureaucracy got into power they would never part with it and that once they are accustomed to draw high salaries they never consent to lose them.

"Then, Sir, I am sorry that without caring for the elementary necessities of the people of this province, all at once a provision of Rs. 9 lakhs has been made for increasing the pay of Imperial Officers with retrospective effect. I would very strongly protest against such an action, because this Council with an unanimous voice has repudiated the conclusions of a committee, about the personnel of which or about the terms of reference of which neither this House nor the Legislative Assembly had been consulted. And without caring to ascertain the needs of the people, without even caring to wait and see what Parliament is going to do, the Government of Madras have budgeted for Rs. 9 lakhs as if to show we are more anxious than the officers themselves. I would put to the Ministers a straight question as to what was the reason that led them to consent to this provision being made in the budget. Because under the Montford Report and under the Government of India Act they are also responsible for the framing of the budget. I think they ought to have protested against this provision and, if necessary, to have threatened with their resignation on the ground that Parliament has yet to come to any conclusion on the subject.

"Then, I come to the very important question of taxation on executive authority. Looking into the report of the Joint Committee, in Part V, paragraph 11, we find this:

'The Committee are impressed by the objections raised by many witnesses to the manner in which certain classes of taxation can be levied upon the people of India by executive action without, in some cases, any statutory limitation of the rates and, in other cases, any adequate prescription by statute of the methods of assessment. They consider that the imposition of new burdens should be gradually brought more within the purview of the Legislature.'

"I am sorry, Sir, that this important principle has not been translated into action. I believe this is one reason why the Executive have grown more irresponsible than they used to be in the pre-Reform days, and it pains me to see that the Ministers who are solely and wholly responsible to the Legislature which consists of elected members representing the people of this province should have themselves enhanced registration fees, excise duties, so on and so forth without caring to come to the Legislature with a resolution



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for approval. I have tabled more than four times resolutions calling the attention of this House to the fact that they must come to some decision on this point. But unfortunately we never reached that item on the agenda and my resolutions could not therefore be discussed. I therefore take this opportunity of drawing the serious attention of the House to this fact and I appeal to the Ministers to see for themselves whether they would themselves trespass the recommendations of the Joint Committee the products of which they are supposed to be.

"Lastly, Sir, this year I consider as a black year in the history of the Legislative Council, black year in the sense that the Executive have ensnared and taken away three Members of this House into their services, three of my hon. Friends who represented Nellore, Kurnool and South Kanara. They have been taken as public prosecutors, and what pains me most is that it should have been done by no less a person than my hon. Friend Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar, a stout champion of democracy, once a Secretary of the Indian National Congress, and one who in a way has done his part in getting the Reforms of 1920. With these general observations, I shall enter into the discussion of certain items of the budget if I have time." (The gong was sounded and the hon. Member resumed his seat).

MR. S. MUTTAYYA MUDALIYAR :—“Mr. President, Sir, in beginning to speak on the present budget, certainly I shall have to associate myself with the hon. Members who have preceded me in saying that I cannot congratulate either the Government or the hon. the Finance Member for the budget which he has placed in our hands. Certainly I am not saying it is the duty of the hon. the Finance Member or of the Government to find out more means to meet the expenses which they propose to make. What they say is ‘we have to spend Rs. 17½ crores; we have got only Rs. 16½ crores and we are going to borrow the other crore.’ I do not say that you should raise further taxation. What I say is, cut down the expenditure and bring it well below the level of revenues. The rate of expenditure has increased to a very large extent during the last half a dozen years. We had the Reforms in the year 1920, at the end of the year 1920, and from 1921 the revenues of this province have been steadily growing and the expenditure also has been steadily increasing and what else do we find? The debt of the province has also been steadily growing.

“I cannot understand this position of a province where the revenue is growing, where the expenditure is growing and also the debt is growing year after year. I am afraid the Government seem to feel that the more you earn, the more you ought to spend. I am only surprised that the Government of India is always coming to the help of the Government of Madras by lending money for its expenses. I can understand the Central Government lending money for productive works such as irrigation, etc.; but certainly I cannot understand the Government of India lending money for the purpose of carrying on the administration of the province. Let us compare the figures available to us and see how my statement is borne out. In the year 1890-91, the revenue of the province was 708 lakhs and the expenditure 371 lakhs. Thirty years after, in the year in which the reforms were introduced, the revenue was 1,516 lakhs and the expenditure 1,130 lakhs. In 1924-25, the income is 1,631 lakhs and the expenditure 1,663 lakhs. In 1925-26, the budget is for an income of Rs. 1,651 and an expenditure of 1,733 lakhs. So much so, during the thirty years



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from 1890 to 1920, the income we see has doubled itself; but the expenditure has more than trebled. In 1920-25, the income has increased by a crore and a half and the expenditure by six crores. Of course, in these figures that I have quoted some portion represents amounts for productive works such as irrigation. I do not complain of money being spent for purposes which will produce an income, which will advance the welfare of the country. But certainly the cost of the administration is growing by leaps and bounds year after year so much so that one is bound to take note of where we are before we venture with a budget of uncalled for and unnecessary expenditure. I am constrained to say that it is unnecessary expenditure. What is the debt of the province? It was  $11\frac{1}{2}$  crores in April 1923 and about the same figure in April 1924. And it has become 12.82 crores in 1925 and in April for 1926 it will be  $14\frac{1}{2}$  crores. Our debt is thus increasing and, not only this, we have to pay an annual interest of 53 lakhs for the money borrowed from the Central Government. We are therefore incurring greater and greater liabilities by way of interest every year. How are we to meet these demands? One year of administration and a greater liability for the future generation, that is the position we are in. The present Government does not seem to consider what legacy we are to leave behind us, whether it is going to be a legacy of debt or a legacy of prosperity, if they go on with this policy of carrying out what they think they must do at present. I do not at all appreciate the position of the Government which says that it wants to borrow even though it be for the purpose of merely carrying on the administration. That is why many people really consider that the whole reforms is a farce, it is not intended for the welfare of the people and that it is only intended for the betterment of a few and to furnish a dignified debating society for the purpose of discussing and not doing anything substantial. We shall have to consider how the man in the street has been impressed by the whole affair. It is true that more gentlemen have been employed in the Government service and more are receiving good pay. It is also a fact that Members like myself and my hon. Colleagues here have now opportunities of expressing their views on the administration in general. But may I ask how it helps the man in the street? Various sorts of taxes have been imposed; the land revenue has been increased; the stamp fee which he has to pay for obtaining redress in courts has been made more costly; the excise duty has been increased; the registration fee has been increased; and by the advent of reforms the man in the street has to bear a large burden and he has to pay much more than what he was paying previously. Let us consider what he gets in return for these increased payments of nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times. Certainly he pays more; and if the occupants of the Treasury Bench can, I would ask them to refute me when I say that they have not got any advantage from these additional payments at all, beyond what they had been deriving five years ago. That has been the grievance everywhere. So, instead of having to face always this grim situation, I would recommend, especially when the Government of India has given us a reduction of 126 lakhs in the contribution to the Central Government, a reduction in some of these taxes which were introduced subsequent to 1920.

"For instance, there is the stamp duty. The court-fees were raised by 50 per cent throughout in the year 1922. It was then understood—I do not remember the exact statement made but I do remember that the understanding was—that it should be a temporary measure to meet the



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extraordinary contingencies that had then risen. Now those extraordinary conditions, I believe, have ceased to exist and yet the rates have not yet been reduced. So far as I know, the general understanding seems to be that the administration of justice ought not to be made a source of revenue. In England, practically there is little of court-fees and in America, I am told, there are no stamp fees even on applications. But in this country we have to pay very heavily for asserting our claims in courts of law. I may be met with an answer that our country is not rich enough and the sources of income in other directions too are not so great as to maintain the cost of judicial administration without independent taxation. So, I will for the present be content if the revenue from judicial administration is just made commensurate with the cost of administration. But if the Government want to make a profit out of it, certainly it is a proposition which many Members would not accede to if there is to be frank-speaking. Let us see if this is really so.

"From the returns I find that for the year 1924-25 the money realized from judicial stamps is 146½ lakhs and other sources of income amount to 15 lakhs, thus making a total of 161 lakhs by judicial stamps and by the administration of justice. The total expense comes to 95 lakhs. So that, during the year 1924-25, there has been a net profit of 66 lakhs from the administration of justice. Probably I may be met with an answer that a portion of this profit includes (it is not explained here what that amount is and I expect that the hon. the Finance Member or the Finance Secretary will in their reply tell us what it is) amounts that we have to pay for pensions to the judicial officers who have retired."

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—"It is so."

Mr. S. MUTTAYYA MUDALIYAR :—"Yes, I am informed that it includes pensions payable to retired judicial officers. But I daresay this amount at the most cannot exceed, say, 10 or 15 lakhs."

The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—"Buildings also, Sir."

Mr. S. MUTTAYYA MUDALIYAR :—"Here we are told that this amount also includes amounts spent on buildings that the Government are building for judicial officers every year at a cost of 50 lakhs. Then, all that I have to say is, enough of buildings."

The hon. Mr. C. P. RAMASWAMI AYYAR :—"The buildings do not cost 50 lakhs every year."

Mr. S. MUTTAYYA MUDALIYAR :—"So the Government is really making a profit out of the judicial administration and therefore I say that there ought to be a reduction in the court-fees. Since the court-fees were raised on the tacit understanding that there would be a reduction when conditions got round to normal, I say there must be reduction in this direction now. One other matter is the high cost of printing that is being incurred. The translation and printing charges come up to two lakhs forty thousand rupees. But it is not known what exactly the expenditure under this head is and it is not possible to gather that information from the figures in the budget. We have one head 'Translators 40 (100-10-150)' which, I think, will in the average work up to 60,000. About the printing charges, where it is put in the budget and how much is exactly spent on the item are not



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known. Formerly there was a private printing and now the printing has been handed over to the Government Press. These charges are unduly high. . . .”

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—“ May I ask what figure in the budget the hon. Member is referring ? I shall be quite willing to explain anything there.”

Mr. S. MUTTAYYA MUDALIYAR :—“ Page 26, item XVII C—‘ Translation and Printing fees—High Court ’. There the revenue is given. Then for expenditure on the administration of justice, page 131, you will see under Pay of establishment,

‘ Shorthand writers 9 (150—250) ; Translators 40 (100—10—150) ’.”

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—“ I think it must relate to translators in courts.”

Mr. S. MUTTAYYA MUDALIYAR :—“ If the hon. Member means to suggest that it relates to interpreters who are in the courts interpreting evidences, then there is a different item for it in the budget. This item cannot therefore represent interpreters. If I am wrong, if not now, the hon. the Finance Member may correct me at any stage and I shall be glad to be corrected. As I read the budget, I am not able to find any other translators anywhere else in the budget.

“ As for the printing charges incurred for the purpose of printing documents for the High Court, I do not find the item anywhere except under ‘ Printing charges—General Printing and Government Press ’. No separate estimate is given as to how much will be necessary for the purpose of printing documents. For a revenue of 2.40 lakhs, we have Rs. 60,000 for translating charges, and what exactly the other printing charges are, I am unable to understand. There is a general impression that the translation and printing charges are unduly high and there is a large surplus of about a lakh that is unnecessarily collected from the litigants who go to court for translating documents which the Judges do not understand. Much of these charges can be reduced. The translation charges ought to be reduced immediately.

“ There are various other matters which I should like to refer to in discussing the budget, but my time is limited and there is one other matter I should like to say a word about. We are having a deficit of nearly a crore this year. I find in the budget provision for buildings, for new buildings to be built. I earnestly appeal to Government to put off all new building operations so that the money that is available may be diverted to more useful purposes, such as repairing the damages caused by the floods.”

Mr. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—“ Mr. President, the hon. the Finance Member was quite frank when he stated in paragraph 13 of the memorandum ‘ there is little satisfaction to be derived from a budget which closes with a deficit of 88 lakhs ’. I agree, but I am tempted to go a step further and characterize this budget not only as unsatisfactory, but practically despondent. For, on going through the budget, I find a feeling of despondency permeating the entire budget. At the same time, the hon. the Finance Member is also prepared to accept the force, the logic, the justness and the reasonableness of our complaint when he says ‘ that too little has still been provided for nation-building, and it must be admitted that there is much leeway to be made up. ’ In another



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part of the same memorandum, he has also referred us to the strenuous fight put up by the hon. Ministers with respect to certain items of expenditure in the Transferred departments. I should have been glad if the hon. Ministers had succeeded in the strenuous fight which they appear to have put up; but so far it does not appear they have succeeded. At any rate, the memorandum and budget details give us the idea that they did not succeed in the honest attempts made for the purpose of getting more money. It is really distressing to find a budget of this character. For, on the 1st April next, we shall start with a deficit of 32 lakhs and on the 31st March 1926, we shall close with a still higher deficit of 88 lakhs. At the same time, it is proposed during the year to borrow a sum aggregating roughly two crores (I leave about a lakh or two) with a view to meet certain items of expenditure and also to wipe out this dead-weight deficit of about 88 lakhs. I am free to acknowledge that the year about to close has witnessed devastations of an unparalleled magnitude, which so far as some parts of the Presidency are concerned, has disturbed their economic equilibrium, and so far as the Government are concerned, has cast a great strain on their slender resources. With respect to the two districts in particular, Tanjore and Trichinopoly, these districts have been hit hard by two agencies, (i) by providence which gave them unprecedented floods and (ii) by executive—I won't say wrong-headedness, but executive—indifference to the crying needs of the people. So far as the floods were concerned, they have been hit very hard, and many a man who would otherwise have rolled in wealth and plenty have been reduced to a state of abject penury. So far as the Government are concerned, a large number of irrigation works and embankments have been washed away, with the result that it has thrown upon them certain amount of additional expenditure which nobody could have foreseen. But it was humanly possible for Government, sympathetically constituted—as we have a right to expect them to be—to have sympathy towards these two districts in the matter of their settlement operations and in the matter of the fervent appeals and prayers they made with respect to the resettlements which these two districts recently underwent. But so far, on account of bad finance or on account of other considerations, the Government appear to have taken a non-possumus attitude, with the result that we hear oftentimes distressing tales from these two districts. Hon. Members of this House may be perfectly aware that, about this time last year, the hon. Sir Charles Todhunter in presenting his budget to this House said: 'though not presenting either a prosperity or security budget we are justified in saying we are all clear.' That high hope of his stands unfulfilled for reasons for which it will not be just for us to lay any blame upon him. But anyhow the fact remains, that we are piling up our deficits. If I am permitted to make a comparison of the finance as it exists to-day with the finance as it existed 7 or 8 years ago, you will notice the following disparity between the various items. In 1918-19, the revenue was 14.43 lakhs; in the year 1925-26, the income is 16.51 lakhs. There is an increase of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  or 3 crores. Now, let us go to the expenditure side. In 1918-19, the expenditure was 884 lakhs. Now, what is the state of things? What expenditure confronts us in the near future? In the coming year, it takes us to the magnificent sum of 1,739.82 lakhs."

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM:—"Just a small matter I should like to mention. The first figure did not include the contributions to the Government of India, while the other includes  $3\frac{1}{2}$  crores."



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Mr. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—“ In the pre-Reform days, there were divided heads of revenue.”

The hon. Mr. R. A. GRAHAM :—“ The effect is that the expenditure appears smaller because the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  crores was not included . . . .”

Mr. R. SRINIVASA AYYANGAR :—“ It is true there were no contributions, but anyhow there is this incubus from which we are anxious to get away as quickly as possible.

“ Coming to the broad details of the budget, we find that so far as the Reserved subjects are concerned, they are allotted 12·61 lakhs while the Transferred subjects are allotted only 4·77 lakhs. The Reserved subjects this time by way of allotment include new works for 14·85 lakhs, but the Transferred subjects get a little more, viz., 24·66 lakhs. Now, it has been complained, and very rightly and justly complained (that has been the subject of talk not only in the Council, but even outside and also formed the theme in many a platform), that the administration of the Province is and has been top-heavy. No attempt in the way of reduction has been made. When I am making this statement, I am fully conscious that the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee have been given effect to partly, but I am at a loss to understand as to why the Government felt it difficult to go the whole hog and make up its mind to give effect to the entire recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee. There are too many officers now in the higher ranks, and it is better to make retrenchment there, and to effect Indianization which while giving a training to the Indian talent will also make the administration less costly. And then again, while the pay, privileges and prospects of the Imperial services are being bettered, I regret to note that the claims of a large number of non-gazetted officers still remain unrecognized. It is true that four or five years ago, their pay was revised, but the hon. the Finance Member and other Members of this House, will be perfectly aware that in the past two or three years meetings and conferences have been held all over the country, and recently within the past two months, as many as 200 meetings have been held all over the Presidency protesting against the present conditions and insisting upon the Government to seriously think of appointing or constituting a committee to go into the question of the organization and conditions of the Services and also to meet their demands and grievances. And it really pains me to note the notification that appeared in the *Port St. George Gazette* some time ago which did away with the note appended to some rule in the Fundamental Rules (rule 87) dealing with the allowances and leave pay which the non-gazetted officer below Rs. 300 was entitled to draw during the term of his leave. But I do not propose to go into that in detail at present.

“ A Land Revenue Bill on the lines of the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee was long overdue; and while this Council has turned down the Bill introduced into this House by Sir Arthur Knapp some time ago, it is rather difficult to understand why it has been held up, but it is rather refreshing to hear from the Revenue Member that it is under contemplation to introduce this Bill somewhere in August this year. But I do not understand the object why pending the introduction of this Bill Government should carry on resettlement operations under executive orders in their merry-go-round fashion. I raise my protest against that. Then I would



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ask the Finance Member, and also the Revenue Member (who I observe is absent) to take into consideration the question of reinstating these village officers who have been thrown out of employ consequent upon the regrouping or amalgamation. It is left open to him to form a committee and by means of referendum ascertain the wishes of the people whether they will insist upon the old rate of pay or they would work as non-official workers. Opinion seems to be divided just now. After coming to the Council this morning, I received a letter from Villupuram wherein they say that, so far as monigars are concerned, they are prepared to take less pay provided their confreres who have been unceremoniously thrown out are restored to office.

"Coming to Excise, I wish to make a remark or two. It is rather in the nature of an anomaly that the Education Minister should be in charge of Excise as well. The only point of affinity between the two seems to be that both begin with the fifth letter of the alphabet, E (laughter). These two departments have different objectives which it is impossible to reconcile. So far as Excise is concerned, you raise money by taxing the vice of the people, but so far as Education is concerned, you spend the money to elevate the condition of the people and remove illiteracy. Under this system, the Education Minister is placed in an embarrassing position, and he finds himself between two stools. While his sympathy may be towards reducing consumption involving a fall in revenue and initiating a policy of temperance, when he sets his heart upon adumbrating a scheme of expansion of elementary education, he is confronted with want of funds and he necessarily feels obliged to give up the other thing. It seems to me, Sir, that the time has come, so far as this province is concerned, to inaugurate a steady policy of temperance with absolute and ultimate prohibition as the goal. I have no doubt that if that policy be kept in view, in the near future it will succeed. I am not unmindful of the fact when I make that statement that it is likely to bring about a considerable drop in the income, but the Government must be prepared to face this situation and any loss which

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this might bring about may be compensated by less expenditure partly under 'Jails' and partly under 'Police'. I make this statement advisedly for, a fortnight ago, I heard when I was sitting in the court of sessions, an approver getting into the box and telling us that they organized a large party and helped themselves with arrack some 12 hours before that party about 20 strong set out on the expedition of looting and committing dacoity. That shows that people help themselves very largely with drink for the purpose of easing others of their property by using violence or by means of intimidation. At any cost, this moral degradation of the people must be wiped off. At any cost, national honour and national manhood must be maintained. While I am on this, I am tempted to quote the report of a speech said to have been made by the hon. the Minister for Education at Bellare. That speech does not show that he is very much for the elimination of the excise revenue. For, I find there a struggle between his head and heart. That is the interpretation which I am constrained to put upon that. This is what the report says. 'While advance in excise policy is necessary, he (the hon. the Minister) asked them (the audience) to consider whether it was desirable to accelerate the reform in a manner that would completely dislocate the finances of the province.' I say, this excise dislocates the human frame, the frame of the nation. That does not trouble him. He is more troubled by



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the dislocation of the finances of the province which are in a large measure derived from this source. He further says that it is necessary therefore to consider the steps to be taken to replace the revenue which would be lost by the adoption of a measure of reform in this direction. The matter does not end there. He says that it is a matter for the public to consider between the progress of the nation-building departments and the elimination of the excise revenue. Reading between the lines, I can safely say that the hon. the Minister is for giving preference to the revenue derived from excise. In that state of things, it is rather too much to expect much in the way of elimination from the mentality of the hon. the Minister for Education judging him from the views expressed by him at Killore and not as Mr. Patro, a temperance worker and an ardent congressman.

"I should also say that the time has come for the reduction of the court-fees and also stamps. It is true that this Council voted for an increase in these directions, but it was with a view not only to improve the deficit but also to set apart a certain amount of money for payment to the village officers. Turning to the Administration Report for 1923-24, I find that the total receipts on criminal, civil and revenue courts for the year ending December 1923 was Rs. 154 lakhs, whereas the expenditure for the same period was 98 lakhs leaving a surplus of 56 lakhs. I do not think that any Government in the world is entitled to make profit out of justice and therefore this surplus must necessarily go towards bringing to fruition any scheme that will relieve the burden of taxation. But so far as the hon. the Finance Member is concerned, in answer to a question put by the hon. Member from Coimbatore, he said that there was no chance. While his answer was chilling and damping, a different note was struck by the hon. the Law Member who was not prepared to go that length. He told us in no uncertain terms that he would call for statistics and if as the result of the examination of those statistics he found that there was a fall in the institution of suits consequent upon the increase of court-fees, that matter would surely engage his kind and sympathetic attention.

"I want also to refer to the reduction of the registration fees recently enhanced and also to the levying of 5 annas upon documents that are presented to the registration officer requesting him to send them by post. There are various other things also to which I wish to refer, but for want of time for all that, I would at the present moment keep my powder dry for being utilized on a future occasion not a long way off."

#### IV

##### DISTRIBUTION OF TIME FOR DISCUSSION OF DEMANDS FOR GRANTS.

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"I promised to let the House know about the orders of His Excellency the Governor regarding the distribution of time. I have heard from His Excellency that he would allow one day of five hours for each of the following three demands:—

I. LAND REVENUE

XVII. EDUCATION—TRANSFERRED and

XXVIII. CIVIL WORKS—TRANSFERRED.

"These demands will get a maximum of one day of five hours each and for the other demands there will be a maximum of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours each. Of course,



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[The President]

it will not be possible that all the other demands could be discussed for 2½ hours each for which purpose we might want very much more than a month. But the House will do as much as it can and as far as it can accommodate itself within the general limit of time because we have to finish on the date originally notified, i.e., on the 27th March. The result of this arrangement will be that the discussion of the particular Demand XI which consists of Ministerial salaries and the Civil Secretariat under the Ministers will come on for discussion probably on the 5th or 6th day even if the full time allotted is devoted to each of the previous demands. The House will get 2½ hours for the discussion of that particular demand. That is the arrangement at present made by His Excellency the Governor."

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI:—"In this connexion, I want to bring to your kind notice the feeling on the Opposition side of the House that the time allotted is utterly inadequate to the discussion of the reduction of the Ministerial salaries which is sure to be proposed. I may draw your kind notice to the fact that we have not had anything like a full-dress debate on the Ministerial policy and administration for a very long time past and that we, if we have to function as an opposition, must pick up an opportunity for educating the country since we are here in a minority. What after all the most important item in the present constitution is the Ministerial responsibility. I therefore make an appeal to you and to my hon. Friend, the Leader of the House, to try and meet us in this matter, as is very often done, almost invariably done in the Legislative Assembly, and give us a whole day. If this has to be secured by cutting down the time allotted to any other demand by an equal amount, my friends on this side of the House will have no objection. They would like to draw very special attention of you, Mr. President and the Leader of the House, to the inadequacy of the time now provided and they would urge that a whole day be given."

The hon. the RAJA OF PANAGAL:—"May I know, Sir, whether the demand that has been made by the Member opposite was made on behalf of himself or on behalf of the Opposition as a whole?"

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI:—"I have already stated that I am making it on behalf of the Opposition."

Mr. J. A. SALDANHA:—"We have authorized our hon. Friend to make this appeal."

The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP:—"I presume my hon. Friend realizes that the allotment of time rests in the hands of His Excellency the Governor. No doubt it would be open to me and also to you, Sir, to bring to the notice of His Excellency the wishes expressed this afternoon. But before anything of that kind is done, I should like to know if my hon. Friend has any alternative suggestion to make. The total number of days is limited and if he can make any suggestion we can . . ."

The hon. the PRESIDENT:—"He has suggested it already. I understand that they would be willing to give up half a day from any one of the three demands which are allotted one day each."

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI:—"My still further alternative is that an hour and a quarter from each of the demands, viz., Education and Civil Works, may be taken for this purpose. We have put forward all these suggestions."



[Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddi]

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"In answer to what was said by the hon. the Leader of the House, I assure him that we all know that the final disposal of this matter rests entirely with His Excellency. But since we cannot constitutionally claim direct access to His Excellency, we can only request you, Mr. President, as the representative of this House, and my hon. Friend Sir Arthur Knapp to intercede on our behalf and convey to him our wishes."

Mr. C. V. VENKATARAMANA AYYANGAR :—"I do not know if time can be taken away from Education and Civil Works. Education and Civil Works both cover very large amounts. Especially, as regards Education, we have to deal with a large number of items and therefore we do not think we can curtail the time allotted to that."

Mr. C. RAMALINGA REDDI :—"I am sorry the hon. Member from Coimbatore is taking up this attitude. All that I can tell him is that I have consulted the Leader of the Opposition and he is agreeable to this suggestion. Sir, we are placing this suggestion before you and we want you to allot us a whole day for the purpose mentioned. I may also say that I specifically mentioned to the Leader of the Opposition that the time for Civil Works might be cut down and after I came here a similar suggestion was made to me and I have passed it on. If this suggestion is adopted, I am sure later on we can meet the Leader of the Opposition if we care to and arrange with him some feasible course. I am not stating these things as cut and dry schemes, but as suggestions for consideration."

### III—GENERAL DISCUSSION ON THE BUDGET—cont.

Mr. T. ADINARAYANA CHETTIYAR :—"Although the Madras tax-payer can congratulate himself on the fact that last year's joke—  
3-45 p.m. no doubt unintended—of a balanced budget was not repeated this year—and jokes do not bear repetition—I am afraid there is nothing for him to congratulate himself on the budget so lucidly presented by the hon. the Finance Member the other day. The very fact that on 1st April 1926 the indebtedness of the province with the Central Government will be Rs. 1,451,90 as compared with the Rs. 1,282,60 which it is expected to be on 1st April 1925 is enough to depress even the most optimistic among us. But from the point of view of the ryot—which is the only view-point as regards budgets—one would search in vain for any ray of hope or promise of relief.

"As regards the departments with which he is most concerned, viz., Land Revenue, Excise, Forests, Irrigation, Local Self-Government and Village Communications and Agriculture and Co-operation, there is absolutely nothing in the present budget at which the tax-payer should rejoice or for which he should feel grateful.

"As regards Excise, I join my hon. Friend Mr. T. A. Ramalinga Chettiyar in wishing that the hon. Minister for Education and, may I add, Excise, had come out with proposals for promoting the cause of temperance. In spite of the persistent demand for minimizing the drink evil in this province, the hon. Minister for Education has budgeted for nearly the normal state of revenue. He will not consider total prohibition possible at any time within his mental horizon. Even in petty matters as the location of toddy shops in the most objectionable places in mufassal towns, as in the case of Polar in North Arcot district, he will not move his little finger even when the local officials recommend their removal to less objectionable localities.



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"The forests whose existence and preservation is said to be for the benefit of the ryots, while they are so scientifically managed as to successfully keep out the ryots from deriving any benefit from them, are, at the same time so uneconomically worked as to eat away all the receipts under that head, whereas in any other civilized country in the world this magnificent natural asset would be made to yield a substantial income to Government.

"The phrase 'scientific management' is the cloak under which a whole army of 'Research officers', 'Utilization officers', 'Forest economists' and 'Exploitation officers' is entertained and the tax-payer is kept blissfully ignorant of the work turned out by these officers. The word 'Exploitation' is an ugly one sometimes.

"While the highly-paid European officers with no easily understandable duties have been multiplied, the Indianization of the Forest Service, even to the modest extent recommended by the Islington Committee, was not given effect to except perhaps by the promotion of four or five of the Provincial Service men to the Imperial Service. But even these fortunate few did not receive the benefits which the Lee Report bestowed on their European colleagues.

"No attempt seems to be made to curtail even avoidable expenditure. To give only one instance, in spite of the fact that a large portion of the reserve forests has either been disafforested or handed over to the control of village forest panchayats, the former number of highly-paid officers and rangers are being maintained at the tax-payers' expense. There are, I understand, six supernumerary Extra Assistant Conservators of Forests and yet a special staff of Panchayat officers and Inspectors are maintained to control the panchayat forest reserves.

"Perhaps in no other country in the world can this phenomenon of maintaining a hundred highly-paid officers to control 200 rangers be found as is unfortunately the case in this benighted province. Sometimes one can hardly resist the temptation for thinking that Government, in its forest administration at least, considers that people exist for these officers and not the other way. Otherwise, it is hard to understand why when formerly there were only three circles with three Conservators in the province, after a considerable portion of the reserve has been disafforested, there should be now six Conservators.

"The Special Panchayat Officer who is a Deputy Collector and his Inspectors who have been recruited from the clerical ranks can boast of no special knowledge of forest conservation. Their work could very well be done by the regular departmental staff since a similar panchayat system guided by the departmental officers is found to work at least equally well.

"It is high time panchayat management is rapidly extended and the cost of the department reduced at a rapid rate. At any rate, the continued maintenance of a large number of high and low paid officers without any work at a heavy cost to the tax-payer, while it may be 'scientific', is neither 'economic' nor prudent.

"There seems to be a sort of curse on all commercial concerns undertaken by the Forest department. Russellkonda has been followed by Olavakot."



[4th March 1925]

The hon. Sir ARTHUR KNAPP :—“ Does the hon. Member suggest that Russellkonda is working at a loss ? ”

Mr. T. ADINARAYANA CHETTIYAR :—“ I do not say so. But I am coming to it presently.

“ Olavakkot is expected to make packing cases for the convenience of tea and perhaps rubber planters while Russellkonda, I am told—let me hope my information is not accurate—sent wooden sleepers to the Calcutta market where they had to be sold at a heavy loss.

“ The Forest College at Coimbatore cannot be considered except as an unnecessary waste of money as the department is already over-manned and there are even now officers without any definite work.

“ Turning now to the department under the care of the hon. Minister for Development, first as regards co-operation, it is regrettable to note that the figures for 1925-26 are almost a copy of the figures for 1924-25. Nay, in one respect it is worse. There is a budgeted increase this year of Rs. 50,000 over the actuals of the previous year. While he could not be unaware of the fact that the last Provincial Co-operative Conference almost unanimously resolved to recommend the abolition of the institution of Honorary Assistant Registrars, an institution which, intentionally or unintentionally, makes Assistant Registrars to resort to the exercise of party-patronage, it is most sad to find that the present budget provides for the same number of Honorary Assistant Registrars as last year, viz., 79 and for their peons and for their travelling allowances against the wishes of the very people whose interests they are supposed to safeguard. The system of appointing Honorary Assistant Registrars is, moreover, opposed to the principle which the hon. Minister is never tired of repeating, in season and out of season, that Government intends to transfer control to institutions and not to individuals.

“ Next let us see whether there is even a shadow of justification for keeping up the cost of administration so high. Seven thousand five hundred and fifty-five co-operative societies, or a little over 75 per cent of the total number of societies in the province are being now controlled and supervised by the 280 co-operative unions. These unions efficiently discharge most of the duties which were originally discharged by the departmental staff and that staff is now left only with mere statutory duties of registration, audit and liquidation. Yet, the same number of Assistant Registrars and Inspectors is being kept up.

“ Prior to the coming into existence of these co-operative unions, when the department had to look after both statutory and non-statutory duties, the cost to Government, up to the year 1918-19, was only Rs. 61 per society ; whereas, in the year 1922-23, after the coming into existence and successful working of 280 Co-operative Supervising Unions, consisting of about 1,500 selected co-operators in the Province, viz., the governing body members, who employ out of their own funds 237 supervisors, the cost to Government has risen to Rs. 63 per society.

“ The MacLaggen Committee on Co-operation has clearly laid down that Government should rapidly reduce expenditure and non-officialize the movement and eventually withdraw from the field altogether. According to this expert committee an auditor should be able to audit 100 societies and super-audit 200 more. The committee appointed by the Bihar and Orissa



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Government has laid down that an Assistant Registrar should be able to manage 1,500 societies. But what do we find here? We have an auditor for every 40 societies and an Assistant Registrar for every 400 societies. Thus, while the hon. the Minister pays lip service to the principle of non-officialization of the movement at the earliest possible opportunity, he lacks the strength to withstand the attempts of the officials who must necessarily justify their own existence and try to make out a case for their continued entertainment. The hon. the Minister, in the administration of the Co-operative department, seems to have no other policy except that of weakness, vacillation and drift, with the result, that after a quarter of a century of practice of co-operation the tax-payer has to find annually seven lakhs of rupees to maintain an ever-increasing army of co-operative officials.

"As regards another branch of the administration for which the same hon. Minister is responsible, viz., Agriculture, the tax-payer can find no greater satisfaction. While there is enough money to pay the scientific experts and specialists—I am glad they are not called 'Exploitation officers' in this department—and the Pest Act staff and what not the fixed travelling allowance to Agricultural Demonstrators is put down at such a low figure that the Demonstrators either do not tour for an adequate number of days in a month or manage to visit only places very near their headquarters with the result that the scientific expert knowledge brought into the country at such a fabulous cost to the tax-payer practically never reaches him. Under such circumstances, would it be unreasonable to suggest that the suggested paddy-breeding farm in Kistna Delta which is estimated to cost nearly a lakh of rupees may be allowed to wait some time longer, until our finances are in a sounder condition?

"The Pest Act staff should be dispensed with and their work should be capable of being attended to by the revenue subordinates and the existence of a large number of men who have passed out of the Agricultural College, but cannot obtain employment should make Government hesitate before spending large amounts on this institution and building comfortable additional cottages for the growing staff.

"The costly adventure at Chintaladevi has been followed by the gamble of a cattle-breeding farm at Matigiri, an annually plague-infected area. As in the cognate subject of co-operation, the policy of the hon. the Minister seems to be only one of helplessness and drift. No stronger proof need be adduced for this than to point to the deputation of Mr. Pinto to Europe and America at a huge cost for purchasing a few thousand rupees' worth of boring machinery.

"As regards Industries, the same want of policy is visible. The thousands of tins of tinned fish which are patiently waiting to find their way to the connoisseur's palate and the jam factory and the glue factory are monumental examples of how such enterprises are mismanaged.

"While the investigation of the possibilities of lace-making industry is to be undertaken with a view to meeting a chance demand from America or perhaps from some other place, no attempt is ever made to revive the cottage-industries of the country. The organization of hand-spinning and production of Khadder either as an auxiliary cottage-industry for the ryot (in his slack season) or on co-operative lines, does not seem to have been even thought of as a possibility.



[Mr. T. Adinarayana Chettiyar] [4th March 1925]

"As regards Irrigation, while Government has of late been spending considerable sums on the restoration of normal conditions in the deltaic districts of the south, it cannot afford to disregard the fact that there is a strong impression in the minds of the people that had the Engineering and Irrigation departments not been negligent of their duties such unprecedented damages would not have occurred. But this is only by the way. What concerns most districts like North Arcot is the fact that minor irrigation works are woefully neglected. Hundreds of irrigation sources which are entered in the accounts as capable of a eight or ten months' supply do not give a supply for even three months sometimes, although the Revenue Divisional Officers see water where other mortals cannot, as I found in Kilvidi in Arkonam taluk not many weeks back.

"In North Arcot, a district which depends helplessly on minor irrigation works, in spite of strenuous efforts, only one work is to be taken up in the year 1925-26, and that too under conditions which would place this benefit beyond the reach of ordinary ryots. Government ought to be more liberal in this matter and should not insist on one-sixth contribution in hard cash and an enhanced assessment which would work out at the rate of 6 per cent on the capital outlay.

"North Arcot is full of large irrigation tanks which are not at all reclaimed. A little more liberality on the part of Government in this direction would not only be a preventive of famines but also avoid the necessity for recurring annual remissions. Especially this year, this district is passing through a season of exceptionally severe drought and whole villages are being depopulated.

"The financial condition of the local bodies is most deplorable the more so because these, if properly functioning, could be administering the bulk of the nation-building activities of the Province. Whether in the matter of education or village communications, the financial condition of the local bodies affects the ryots most intimately. For instance, although many local bodies were encouraged to levy the unpopular road cess of a quarter-anna to be specially set apart for village roads, owing to the financial stringency of these bodies, the amounts thus collected were utilized for other purposes.

"Deficits seem to be the natural condition of every local board, and it is the usual thing for these bodies to approach Government every year for money. But only small doles are given and they are next to useless. And Government itself having taxed all the sources of income, there is very little scope left for local bodies. The result is that unless Government subsidises local bodies liberally there cannot possibly be any improvement in the state of affairs.

"Recently Vellore Taluk Board had, I understand, to close down 24 schools under it as there was a deficit which neither the District Board of North Arcot nor the Government would meet.

"The budget estimate for 1925-26 seems to take a more roseate view as regards the income under Land Revenue than the present seasonal conditions would warrant. The fixing of the revenue by permanent settlement is the only solution one can see for the many difficulties which the Government as well as the ryots have to face from time to time.



4th March 1925] [Mr. T. Adinarayana Chettiyar]

" The fact that Government is still delaying taking action on the resolution of this House passed as long ago as 9th February 1924 in the matter of the cancellation of the regrouping of villages and the restoration to office of the village officers who lost their appointments as a result of this regrouping, is causing widespread dissatisfaction besides doing grave injustice to the thousands of unfortunate men who are obliged to be in a state of suspense without seeking other sources of income at least to keep body and soul together.

" Again, under Land Revenue, there is considerable scope for keeping down the present scale of expenditure. In spite of the fact that now income-tax work has been taken away from them, the same number of deputy collectors have been provided for in the current budget estimate. I would even suggest that there is no need for the appointment of the twelve special tahsildars for what is styled ' District Maintenance '.

" Retrenchment should be the aim in a year of deficits like the present. The Board of Revenue has long been considered as an expensive anachronism and it is a matter for surprise that Government should still seek to perpetuate this institution.

" Unless my North Arcot experience has been particularly unfortunate, I cannot consider a clear case has been made out for the Personal Assistant to the Registrar-General of Panchayats and his special staff. The provision for a Personal Assistant to the Chief Conservator of Forests should, in my opinion, be opposed as the department already retains officers with no work or only with nominal duties. The office of the Inspector of Registration offices which has been allowed to remain unfilled since 1922 without any apparent deterioration in the administration of that department, can be allowed to remain vacant some time more. I would even venture to suggest that having tried the Ministers' Secretaries for some time we can see whether we cannot pull on for a year without their valuable services.

" The building of residential quarters except in localities where houses for rent are absolutely unobtainable cannot be considered  
4 p.m. advisable in a year of huge deficits like the present one. The house for the Executive Engineer at Vellore, and quarters for two excise officers cannot be considered to be matters of such grave urgency as cannot wait another year or so.

" Before sanctioning the estimate for one lakh for the Tuberculosis Jail at Bellary this House is entitled to know how it is that a large number of convicts have within such a short time fallen victims to this disease so as to need a hospital all to themselves and whether there is any truth in the rumours that prisoners who have gone to jail for what are usually understood as political offences, although Government persistently says it has not a special class of prisoners as political prisoners, have contributed largely to the number of victims to this disease.

" Considered in every way this is a budget on which we can congratulate neither the Government nor the tax-payer. I trust that at least when it emerges finally out of this discussion, it will assume a shape which will be more acceptable to the people.



[Mr. T. Adinarayana Chettiyar] [4th March 1925]

"Finally I would repeat what has fallen from the lips of so many of my hon. Friends that the hon. the Finance Member had better not mention anything about the Cotton Excise Duty which he mentioned the other day."

The House adjourned at 4 p.m. to meet again at 11 a.m. next day.

R. V. KRISHNA AYYAR,  
*Secretary to the Legislative Council.*

#### APPENDIX I.

[Vide answer to question No. 302 asked by Mr. T. Adinarayana Chettiyar at the meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 4th March 1925, page 692 supra.]

1273 Q.—MR. T. ADINARAYANA CHETTIYAR: Will the hon. the Home Member be pleased to state—

(a) whether the panchayats for class V reserves could not be organized by Forest subordinates;

(b) whether the experiment was ever tried;

(c) whether it is not possible to bring under one control both village forest panchayats and class V panchayats;

(d) whether the Forest Panchayat Officer is trained in forest conservation and whether his subordinates also are similarly trained people;

(e) how the special staff is specially qualified to teach ryots better management of forests;

(f) whether the village forest panchayats are at present under a definite organization and whether forest subordinates are supervising their panchayats satisfactorily; and

(g) what is the difference between the management of village forest panchayats and class V reserves, and even if there is a difference, whether Forest subordinates cannot work them satisfactorily?

A.—(a) The policy of the Government has been to dissociate subordinates of the Forest department from the organization of panchayats.

(b) No.

(c) The working of the forest village system is different from the working of the ordinary panchayat system. The control of the Forest department is necessary for the former, but it is not suited to the latter.

(d) The panchayat staff have sufficient training in forest conservation to deal with the comparatively simple problems that arise.

(e) The training which the Forest Panchayat Officer has received in the Co-operative and Forest departments is calculated to fit him for this special work.

(f) The forest village panchayats work under the supervision of the ordinary forest staff. The system is on the whole satisfactory.



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ask the Finance Member, and also the Revenue Member (who I observe is absent) to take into consideration the question of reinstating these village officers who have been thrown out of employ consequent upon the regrouping or amalgamation. It is left open to him to form a committee and by means of referendum ascertain the wishes of the people whether they will insist upon the old rate of pay or they would work as non-official workers. Opinion seems to be divided just now. After coming to the Council this morning, I received a letter from Villupuram wherein they say that, so far as monigars are concerned, they are prepared to take less pay provided their confreres who have been unceremoniously thrown out are restored to office.

"Coming to Excise, I wish to make a remark or two. It is rather in the nature of an anomaly that the Education Minister should be in charge of Excise as well. The only point of affinity between the two seems to be that both begin with the fifth letter of the alphabet, E (laughter). These two departments have different objectives which it is impossible to reconcile. So far as Excise is concerned, you raise money by taxing the vice of the people, but so far as Education is concerned, you spend the money to elevate the condition of the people and remove illiteracy. Under this system, the Education Minister is placed in an embarrassing position, and he finds himself between two stools. While his sympathy may be towards reducing consumption involving a fall in revenue and initiating a policy of temperance, when he sets his heart upon adumbrating a scheme of expansion of elementary education, he is confronted with want of funds and he necessarily feels obliged to give up the other thing. It seems to me, Sir, that the time has come, so far as this province is concerned, to inaugurate a steady policy of temperance with absolute and ultimate prohibition as the goal. I have no doubt that if that policy be kept in view, in the near future it will succeed. I am not unmindful of the fact when I make that statement that it is likely to bring about a considerable drop in the income, but the Government must be prepared to face this situation and any loss which

3-50 p.m.

this might bring about may be compensated by less expenditure partly under 'Jails' and partly under 'Police'. I make this statement advisedly for, a fortnight ago, I heard when I was sitting in the court of sessions, an approver getting into the box and telling us that they organized a large party and helped themselves with arrack some 12 hours before that party about 20 strong set out on the expedition of looting and committing dacoity. That shows that people help themselves very largely with drink for the purpose of easing others of their property by using violence or by means of intimidation. At any cost, this moral degradation of the people must be wiped off. At any cost, national honour and national manhood must be maintained. While I am on this, I am tempted to quote the report of a speech said to have been made by the hon. the Minister for Education at Bellare. That speech does not show that he is very much for the elimination of the excise revenue. For, I find there a struggle between his head and heart. That is the interpretation which I am constrained to put upon that. This is what the report says. 'While advance in excise policy is necessary, he (the hon. the Minister) asked them (the audience) to consider whether it was desirable to accelerate the reform in a manner that would completely dislocate the finances of the province.' I say, this excise dislocates the human frame, the frame of the nation. That does not trouble him. He is more troubled by